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FBIS-EEU-95-198 *13 October 1995*

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Zhulali Meets Shalikashvili, Praises Cooperation

AU1210220095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 12 Oct 95

[Article by Bujar Muharremi]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Talks between Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali and U.S. General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, started in the presence of correspondents. Zhulali pointed out that it is the first time that the highest U.S. military official has come to Albania on an official working visit. We highly appreciate this visit and consider it to be a new moment in strengthening the political and military relations between the United States and Albania, Zhulali said. [passage omitted]

Zhulali and Shalikashvili then held private talks. After over an hour of talks, Minister Zhulali and Gen. Shalikashvili made statements for RTSh: [passage omitted]

[Muharremi] Mr. Minister, after the meeting you held with Gen. Shalikashvili, can you please tell us what new areas the military cooperation between the United States and Albania will reach in the future?

[Zhulali] It will continue and it will be increased. We discussed precisely these issues. After two days, I will visit Washington again and there we will decide on how things will go further. Anyway, Gen. Shalikashvili's visit is an excellent opportunity for Albania. He is a very important friend of Albania and the Albanian Army. Even before, we had the chance to know his kindness.

[Muharremi] Continuing his visit, Minister Zhulali and Gen. Shalikashvili went on to participate in the closing of the Albanian-U.S. joint exercise codenamed "Rescue Eagle." Defense Minister Safet Zhulali greeted the troops participating in the exercise. After pointing out that this is the ninth Albanian-U.S. exercise this year, Zhulali said among other things:

[Zhulali] This is a great investment on the part of the United States for Albania and for peace in the region. This is a great investment for democracy in its entirity, including in the Armed Forces.

[Muharremi] Further, Zhulali stressed the fact that Albania is participating actively in the Partnership for Peace [PFP] initiative, preserving expeditious integration into NATO as its main goal. Zhulali expressed his confidence that the United States will be engaged in setting up a national training center in Albania, which will be a great contribution for the Albanian Army and the U.S troops who will train together within the framework of the PFP. [passage omitted]

Minister Zhulali and Gen. Shalikashvili also discussed future joint exercises. [passage omitted]

Former Sigurimi Figure Arrested on Arms Charge

AU1210193295 Tirana ALBANIA in Albanian 8 Oct 95 p 1

[Article by A.K.: "Accused of Keeping Weapon Without a License"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been reported that Luan Pobrati, wanted by the Elbasan police for keeping arms without a license, was arrested in Tirana. It was a successful operation by Tirana Police Station 2, performed in the early morning hours last Friday [6 October], which ended in the arrest of one of the main figures of the former Sigurimi, Luan Pobrati, the terrible man of Tirana University in the years of the dictatorship. On Friday afternoon, Pobrati was sent to the Elbasan police station, which on 17 April 1993 had issued a warrant for his arrest for keeping arms without a license.

Two days ago, his family published a letter in the newspapers, which claimed that on October 4, at 2030 hours local time, Pobrati was kidnapped by "some people who guarded the house." Three weeks earlier, Pobrati had returned from abroad. The letter says that before Pobrati had left Albania, he was in Elbasan prison. In the letter, his family expresses its worry that his kidnapping "was in someone's interest." Some time ago, Pobrati's name was much bandied about as one of the most savage Sigurimi members who acted in the University milieu. Perhaps Pobrati's family is right to worry, because some victim or his family members could have found the chance to get revenge on the former tormentor, who for two and a half years hid from the laws of the Albanian state. In the letter, there is a discrepancy between the date of his "kidnapping" and the date when the police arrested the wanted Luan Pobrati. Perhaps this might have been another of Pobrati's attempts, this time unsuccessful, to escape from the prison cell in Elbasan. Perhaps the letter is part of this scheme. Nevertheless this latest news finds Pobrati under the roof of the isolation cells in Elbasan police station. His family will be relieved, something they asked for from ShIK [National Intelligence Service], by making an appeal in the pages of an independent newspaper. While Pobrati is waiting for his trial, he will probably be sentenced under another article of the new penal code, especially for his affairs as the Sigurimi policeman in the university, known by all as the "bespectacled snake."

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Former Communist Official Accused of War Crime

AU1210201695 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 12 Oct 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Shefqet Peci Denounced for War Crimes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sources in the National Forum for the Denunciation of Genocide and the Crimes of the Dictatorship [Forumi Kombetar per Denoncimin e Genocidit te Krimeve te Diktatures] have stated that a denunciation alleging war crimes was lodged at the Procurator General's Office in Tirana yesterday against Shefqet Peci, one of the close colleagues of the dictator Enver Hoxha during the war and the time of the communist regime.

Peci is accused of ordering 21 men in the village of Buzemadh in the Kukes District to be shot without trial for political reasons on 26 September 1944, merely because they were nationalists and anticommunists. At that time, he was commander of the 5th Assault Brigade.

The denunciation has been lodged by a group of relatives of the dead and eyewitnesses, who are demanding proceedings to be undertaken against Peci. His action constitutes a war crime under Article 75 of the Criminal Code on war crimes.

Shefqet Peci held important posts in the communist administration after the war.

Unemployment Reported Rising Steadily

AU1210192295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian on 8 October carries on page five a 600-word report by Erget Tirana on unemployment, entitled: "Mass Unemployment Work of PD."

In his report, E.Tirana writes that the four years of the Democratic Party [PD] rule, will "go down in Albanian history as years of mass unemployment," adding that "the curative 'therapy' is not to be seen anywhere and mass unemployment remains an open wound waiting to be cured." The report continues with a table of official statistics published by INSTAT [Institute of Statistics] covering the period April 94 to April 95. According to this table, in April 94 the number of unemployed was 260,221, of which 183,396 did not receive any benefits. In April 1995, the figure was 264,000, of which 214,700 did not receive any benefits. The report says: "From the table it is clear that the level of unemployment, instead of coming down, increased by 4,000 to 5,000 people since last year, a figure that gives us first place in Europe and beyond." The report continues: "These are the unemployed in towns who are looking for jobs at the employment offices. If the unemployed in other areas are added to this figure, it comes out that 'all Albania is on vacation," adding that "the Meksi-Berisha government knows how to cut but not how to provide new jobs."

The report goes on to say that another worrying fact is that the number of unemployed who do not receive any social benefits is going down, which means that "the second safety net—that of economic assistance—is very much burdened. It is common knowedge that the third safety net is that of the street. Of 76,825 people who profited from some social benefits (though microscopic) a year ago, their number dropped to 49,300 in 1995. In other words: only 19 percent of the unemployed get paid in some sort of way, and others have fallen still lower."

The report continues: "According to income statistics, Tirana holds first place with 40,134 unemployed, followed by Elbasan with 27,765 unemployed, Fier and Berat with about 15,000 each, Durres about 13,000 and Korca about 10,000."

The report says in conclusion that so far the government has not taken any measures, "has not worked out any program and even less so implemented any program to lower unemployment, but has left everything to take its own course."

Merchant Bank Ready To Be Privatized

AU1110082695 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 10 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by Ar. Ca.: "Merchant Bank Now To Be Privatized"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The state's Merchant Bank is now to be privatized. The cabinet has approved the first step of the privatization of the banking system in a bill that will soon go to parliament. This is the "alpha" of the transformation of the state banks into mercantile companies. The Finance Ministry and the Bank of Albania are to prepare a plan laying down the procedure for converting all the banks into firms in accordance with existing legislation. In order to avoid misunderstandings among citizens who are the bank's customers, the Meksi cabinet is to determine a way to guarantee sums on deposit until the privatization is completed. The bill also lays down clearly that the state merchant banks will be subjected to independent auditing by foreign firms that specialize in this sensitive field of finance. The privatization of the banking system is one of the most important measures of the reform of Albania's entire banking system. In the meantime, the Finance Ministry and Merchant Bank will create a Privatization Committee that will prepare procedures that will be approved by the government.

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European Parliament Urges Closure of Reactor

AU1310091195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0500 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night, the European Parliament in Strasbourg almost unanimously passed, with only one abstention, a resolution in connection with the starting of the No. 1 reactor unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. The resolution was proposed by the group of French deputies, who have recently been joined by European Parliament members from other countries. They believe that a dangerous accident in the event of a breach of the reactor shell cannot be excluded, and accordingly call upon the governments and parliaments of the European Union [EU] member countries to approach the Bulgarian Government and insist on the immediate shutdown of the No. 1 Reactor Unit at the Kozloduy Plant.

The adopted resolution instructs the chairman of the European Parliament to send to the European Commission, the EU Council of Ministers, and the governments and parliaments of the EU member countries details of the arguments that motivated the European Parliamentary Assembly to adopt this resolution. Here is a report from Bonn from our West European correspondent Aleksandur Vladkov.

[Begin Vladkov recording] It is considered that the necessary samples have not been taken. No studies by international experts or established European institutes have confirmed that an accident as a result of a breach in the vessel shell can be excluded, and the official demarche by the governments of the G-7 countries has had no effect on the Bulgarian Government. For this reason, the resolution calls upon the Bulgarian Government to shut down this dangerous reactor without delay and take the necessary samples with the help of the international community.

For western Europe, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant is now more sinister than the Chernobyl Plant was. In the final event, the issue concerns the safety of the citizens of the whole of Europe. When, for example, I asked the German environment minister: What are the expert reports on the basis of which you assess the reactor as dangerous? He retorted: On the basis of what expert reports does the Bulgarian Government consider that it is not dangerous? The nub of the problem lies here, namely that the Bulgarian Government is not taking the necessary steps to convince the West of the safety of this reactor unit at the Kozloduy Plant. [end recording]

General Staff Head on Army Situation, NATO

AU0710152395 Sofia REPORTER 7 in Bulgarian 29 Sep 95 p 7

[Interview with Colonel General Tsvetan Totomirov, head of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, by Andon Chipev; place and date not given: "I Do Not Intend To Compromise"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Chipev] General, it has been a year since you—rather unexpectedly—became chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff. What have you accomplished, and what have you not able to do during this period?

[Totomirov] My appointment came at a time of exacerbated relations between the defense minister and the former General Staff chief, and in this sense, it was unexpected. I did not aspire to this appointment, but like every soldier, I had to accept the responsibility entrusted to me by the government and the president.

A year is both a long and a short period. It is a sufficiently long period to make me responsible for the failures and, simultaneously, too short to be able to accomplish everything I wanted to. It would be immodest to speak about myself. Through the efforts of the General Staff and the commanders and staffs, the work to improve the combat readiness and the operational and combat training of the troops continued in the Bulgarian Army. [passage omitted]

I think that we have succeeded this year in calming down the officers by avoiding unjustified dismissals. We have increased army salaries and doubled the housing allowance for officers, sergeants, and military employees who rent out apartments. We have implemented a large part of the short-term social program to resolve the military's most painful problems.

There also are things that we could not fully accomplish. I expect that by passing the Bill on Defense and Armed Forces, improving the material-technical and financial supply, and renewing the regulations system, we will give a serious impetus to the army reform. [passage omitted]

[Chipev] Your predecessor, Lyuben Petrov, twice criticized your actions. Who is opposing you and why?

[Totomirov] Yes, I also received this information. People mostly are utilizing anonymous and incompetent suggestions, gossip, and petty quarrels that do not deserve any attention.

I have correct and collegial relations with Lyuben Petrov, the former general staff chief, who now is a

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member of the National Assembly and the Commission on National Security.

It is difficult to say who is against me. Obviously, I cannot be considered by everyone to be a friendly and easygoing person. Therefore, I pray to God to guard me from my friends. I will take care of my enemies.

[Chipev] What are the new elements of the 1996 training year in the Bulgarian Army?

[Totomirov] There is the favorable possibility of receiving new military equipment—for the first time in the last five years. Within one month, we expect the arrival of 100 T-72 tanks from Russia and 100 infantry fighting vehicles (BMP-1), as well as the necessary spare parts. We already received 100 vehicles from Germany, spare parts, and aircraft engines to the tune of 850 million leva. [passage omitted]

[Chipev] There was again a few days ago an article that suggested that at the time of your appointment, we were on the verge of a coup. How did you replace Lyuben Petrov on 2 September 1994?

[Totomirov] This is a political question. The military implements what the parliament, the president, and the government decide.

[Chipev] What is your attitude toward NATO membership?

[Totomirov] I can only view the military aspect of the issue. The Bulgarian Army is expanding its cooperation with neighboring states, NATO, Russia, the United States, Germany, Austria, Belgium, and so forth. We are among the most active participants in the Partnership for Peace program and hosted three exercises under that initiative. Our units performed well and carried out exercises in the United States, Romania, and Greece.

Thus, with outstretched hands and participation in regional and European events, we will eliminate mistrust and assert that our country is a stable partner and neighbor in the stormy Balkan peninsula.

Commentary Urges Unity on NATO Issue

AU1210201495 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 10 Oct 95 p 6

[Commentary by Vladimir Kostov: "National Interest Requires the Institutions To Act in Concert"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the last 10 days of October, NATO Secretary General Willy Claes is due to visit Bulgaria. The troubles that he has experienced with the Augusta financial affair are not putting his visit into question, at least for the time being. Accordingly, a topical issue for us is how we will welcome him and what we are likely to gain from his visit. Although Willy Claes may not be a head of state or a government leader, it is understandable that by virtue of his high NATO post he has great opportunities to influence NATO's attitude to Bulgaria in one direction or another.

We have to admit that we will welcome the NATO secretary general in a situation that is very unfavorable for us ourselves. President Zhelev has expressed his view that Bulgaria should be ready to accept the deployment of nuclear weapons and foreign troops on its territory if this is a condition for joining NATO. However, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov has said that this is not the position that the government holds. Thus, the situation seems to be clear, and the views stated will surprise no one because they are predictable, but this does not make our position as a country any easier.

Throughout NATO's history, the question of the presence of foreign forces and nuclear weapons on the territory of a particular member state has always been a source of political conflicts and, in this sense, a key issue affecting the attitude toward the country in question.

I do not think that I am wrong in saying that a country that shows itself to others with its own leadership disunited places itself in a most unfavorable position as regards its own interests. This is Bulgaria's position at the moment. Relying on its parliamentary majority, the government that came into power last December wants one thing, while the president, elected just under four years ago, wants something else.

The conclusion that NATO is bound to draw from this situation in Bulgaria is that the Bulgarian leaders have no common national position to defend and, accordingly, Bulgaria is a country against which one can try one thing or another, playing on the antagonism between the institutions. One should not regard my last assertion as any reproach of NATO. In politics and diplomacy, it is normal to exploit one's partner's weaknesses, especially when they relate to a fundamental question and are publicly displayed.

I venture to stress this because I am left with the impression that some people find it difficult to grasp certain elementary truths, namely the following:

—As a result of the publicly displayed disagreement between the president and the government on the issue of the deployment of nuclear weapons and foreign groups in connection with joining NATO, Bulgaria has placed itself in the most unfavorable position possible toward NATO and the West in general.

—This unfavorable position can and certainly will be utilized against Bulgarian interests, not only in connection with our relations with NATO, but also in

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relation to Bulgaria's possible participation in a "mini-Marshall plan" for Bosnia.

—One cannot count on the West, and NATO in particular, being magnanimous enough not to exploit the unfavorable situation in which we have placed ourselves.

Accordingly, it is high time for us Bulgarians to do what is necessary to ensure that Bulgaria, in the form of its official institutions, adopt a single united position on this extremely important issue.

I do not believe that anyone is entitled to impose his own view. Every position taken by the Bulgarian state in this field should be preceded by an open debate and confirmed in accordance with the constitution. In this connection, it is worthwhile for the supporters of all views to realize that there is nothing worse for our national interests than the manifestation of dissension between the president and the government.

The constitution has defined the procedure for developing national policies. Let us observe this procedure, and let Bulgaria welcome the NATO secretary general with a stance supported by all the institutions. The national interest demands this. Despite the local election campaign, every institution—and the National Assembly above all—should assume its own responsibilities, because the election euphoria will pass, but the consequences of a poorly presented and clumsily defended Bulgarian position on its relations with NATO can impose a heavy burden on us for a long time to come.

Rakovski Officers Legion Elects President

AU0510195995 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Valeri Nikolaev: "The Bulgarian Officer Is a Martyr of the Transition, Not a Potential Coup Plotter"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last weekend, delegates and guests gathered in the Central Army Club in Sofia for the Third Extraordinary Congress of the Rakovski Officers Legion to discuss the common feelings of concern for the state of national security, the reform in the Bulgarian Army, and the professional fulfillment and social status of the servicemen. The forum was attended by Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov, Colonel General Tsvetan Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, deputies from the Parliamentary National Security Commission, prominent politicians and public figures, and generals and officers. Major General Stefan Dimitrov, the president's military adviser, read a greetings message from Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic of Bulgaria and supreme commander in chief.

During the last year, the legion continued to act as an uncensored spokesman and an open platform for the problems, complaints, and worries of the officer corps, Colonel of the Reserve Asen Furchilkov, the legion's outgoing president, said in his report. Society has realized, he said, that the Bulgarian officer is rather a victim and martyr of the transition than a potential coup plotter.

The report stressed the Rakovski Legion's contribution to the discussion and adoption of the Defense and Armed Forces Act. The legion's activists drafted a total of 60 passages in the act, which the National Assembly adopted in the first reading. A further 79 passages were prepared jointly with the Union of Officers and Sergeants of the Reserve and the Union of Army Veterans. Most of the clauses provide the citizens in uniform with rights and social guarantees that are an established practice in developed democracies. The legionnaires support the formation of an inspectorate in the Armed Forces and have stated their opposition to the requirement that the defense minister should be a civilian who has not served in the army during the previous 10 years. For the first time since the transition began, representatives of the four parliamentary groups are united regarding the proposals for a professional organization.

The other achievements reported by the legion's leadership were the creation of a parliamentary lobby to work for the legion's interests, and not against it, as a Sofia newspaper announced; the activation of the work of the "Armalego" Stock Company; the organization of a campaign for military insurance; and the launching of a building program. However, the legion's membership continues to be smaller than one would wish. Individual leaders, activists, and ordinary members have yielded to temptation and committed themselves and the organization to ill-defined financial or political actions, Asen Furchilkov admitted shortly before the outgoing leadership submitted their resignation.

The complex foreign economic and domestic political situation and the difficult economic conditions of the transition have influenced the Army's financing and equipment supplies and had some effect on its combat readiness and combat training. Under these difficult conditions, the Rakovski Legion has made no small contribution to the defense of our national ideals and the authority of the Bulgarian officer and the Bulgarian Army. This was the assessment that President Dr. Zhelev made in his greetings message.

We must activate and expand our joint work, placing the accent on priorities like rallying the servicemen in support of our national goals and ideals and the

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ethical and fighting traditions of the Bulgarian officers corps, Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov emphasized in his speech. We have to work together to raise the social status and prestige of the officer's profession, make military service more attractive, and defend the servicemen's honor and dignity, he said. We also share the common goals of seeking to further improve the Army's basic regulations, bringing them into conformity with the Constitution and the laws of the country.

Col. Gen. Tsvetan Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, emphasized three main points in his speech: the motivation of young officers to continue their service, the discipline of the officer corps, and the prospects for cooperation in implementing the reform in the army. Col. Gen. Totomirov said that 27 percent of the young officers commissioned in 1989 had left the army, 25 percent of those commissioned in 1990, 11 percent of those commissioned in 1991, 10 percent of those commissioned in 1992, five percent of those commissioned in 1993, and four percent of those commissioned in 1994. There are many reasons for this, but it has emerged that the main one by far is the social position of the officer both during his service and after joining the reserve. Let us put our heads together, the chief of General Staff suggested, to find ways to help the young command staff find their right place more easily, to increase their motivation for service, and reduce the numbers of those who want to leave the officer's profession. We must continue to work together, he said, to inform our public opinion about the most alarming problems of Bulgarian officers, to defend their interests, do everything possible to create better living and working conditions for them, and, by amending the regulations, to provide more favorable conditions for their professional fulfillment.

By a majority of 27 votes, the congress elected as the new president of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion Colonel Dimo Dimov, a senior personnel assistant in the administration of the military repair plants. He was born in the village of Vurbitsa, Pleven district, on 23 November 1947, and graduated from the Reservist Officers School in Pleven, subsequently qualifying as a radio and television specialist. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1975. He served as a company and section commander in communications units, as a battalion chief of staff, as deputy chief of staff of a communications regiment, and chief of the administration section of the military repair plant in Bozhurishte.

Videnov's Economic Adviser Angelov Interviewed

AU1010182695 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Oct 95 p 9

[Interview with Professor Ivan Angelov, economic adviser of Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, by Chavdar Krumov; place and date not given: "The Mafiosi Have Become Multimillionaires on the Billions Deposited by Small Savers"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Professor Ivan Angelov is 61 years old and is a Virgo. He was elected a corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in 1995, and has worked at the academy's Economics Institute since 1960. He served for over 12 years in the United Nations, where he made lasting friendships with Dr. Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and other world-level politicians and scientists. He is one of our most prominent macroeconomists and has advised three Bulgarian governments. He is married with two children.

Angelov's election as chairman of the Supervisory Council of Balkanbank brought him into sharp conflict with the bank's previous chief Ivan Mironov. Prof. Angelov was accused of saying that "if necessary, blood will be shed to win control of the bank."

[Krumov] Mr. Angelov, you have figured prominently in the media during the last few weeks. To what do you attribute this high level of interest?

[Angelov] Perhaps certain circles felt that the prime minister's other advisers and I have started to delve into the snakepits of corruption and disturb their peaceful lives. They are afraid that our advice to the prime minister will be followed as state policy.

[Krumov] As has happened in the field of the energy industry, do you mean? You have been accused of becoming this sector's head of personnel.

[Angelov] I am an economist. I have never been a personnel officer and will never be one. Last June I worked with a group of experts on an analysis of the financial state of the National Electricity Company. [NEC] We wanted to see if any internal resources were available in the company to partially compensate for the increase in energy prices that the World Bank, the NEC, and the Committee on Power Supply insisted on. Previously, the two last-mentioned bodies sang the same old tune: Give us subsidies and raise the price of electricity. It is probable that our check did have some effect, because after the Council of Ministers had discussed our analysis, the energy industry managers announced that they had identified internal resources

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amounting to about 2 billion leva. In actual fact, their true reserves are many times greater.

[Krumov] What is happening in our banking system, and when will the scandals surrounding Balkanbank end?

[Angelov] During the last few years, our banking system has become one of the instruments for a gigantic redistribution of hundreds of billions of leva, in which the losers were the state and the savers, and the winners—mafia circles in the private sector. I should stress here that I do not accuse the private sector in general, but only its criminal, corrupt segment. This became possible mainly due to the disintegration of the state. Bulgaria is indeed an open yard in the literal sense of the expression. The condition of the banking system is extremely grave, almost critical. Recently, measures have started to be taken to rehabilitate the system. The second phase of consolidating the state banks has commenced. The government is trying to protect the Bulgarian citizens who have deposited billions of leva from unpleasant surprises. As regards Balkanbank, we are waiting for Mr. Mironov to sign at long last the minutes of the shareholders meeting, so that the newly elected Supervisory and Governing Boards can be registered at the court and assume their full functions. [passage omitted]

[Krumov] Is it true that conflict exists between you and Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev?

[Angelov] I will answer by saying that the arrows of irony harm the person who shoots them more than his target.

[Krumov] You have been adviser to a number of prime ministers. To what extent are you bound to your patron and are you loyal to him?

[Angelov] I was an adviser to Georgi Atanasov, [last prime minister before the 1990 elections] a man whom I respected then and continue to do so now, but I am not his man. In 1990 I was an adviser to the Lukanov government, but I remain true to myself, not a Lukanov man. I am now economic adviser to Zhan Videnov; I get on very well with him, but I still remain myself and am not a Zhan Videnov man. A good prime minister chooses as his advisers people with independent views, not wind vanes, otherwise he may find himself imprisoned in a golden cage. The prime minister needs professionals, courageous people who say what they think, not what they think he wants to hear. I believe that the present prime minister has surrounded himself with advisers of this type. Our relations are very good, and those who try to drive a wedge between us are wasting their time.

[Krumov] Has anyone tried to bribe you while you have been in this post?

[Angelov] Yes, more than once.

[Krumov] How did they try to do it, intelligently or crudely?

[Angelov] In both ways. However, they are wasting their time. I prefer to live modestly, sleep well at night, and wake up with an clear conscience. That is what my parents taught me.

Advisers Said Linked to Banks

95BA0387A Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 11-17 Sep 95 pp 7-8, 10

[Article by Ivaylo Danailov: "Zhan's Gray Eminences"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Could it be that those who should advise the prime minister have become his managers?*

Even the oldest adviser of Prime Minister Videnov, Professor Ivan Angelov, has a position in the bank. It was especially for his sake that a two-step management system was introduced at the Balkan Bank, making him chief of the supervisory council. Supervisory councils determine who will be a member of the bank's administrative council or, more accurately, who will administer it. In other words, in addition to being directly concerned with Videnov's economic situation, indirectly Comrade Angelov will also assume the administration of Balkan Bank. "I am particularly sensitive to the topic of clean hands," Mr. Angelov proclaimed after the appointment. He added that ever since he became an adviser to the prime minister, he realized that in our society, particularly in the field of economics, "whatever one may touch, stinks."

Ivan Angelov is the latest adviser to the prime minister to assume a key position in the state economy. Whenever such a thing happens, it is backed by the idea that the young government should struggle against the "enemy in the economy." However, along with repelling enemy elements, another and much more essential objective appears—concentrating the entire economic power in the hands of a handful of people.

Operation "Clean Hands" in the State Economy

This operation is carried out by a group of Zhan Videnov's advisers. However, they are not simply its executors, but also its ideologists.

Two concepts govern this operation: the first is that anyone who has so far held a key position in the economy is not "clean." The second, that only our most

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loyal people are "clean." In order for the young prime minister to be confident that his instructions will be carried out, they should be carried out by loyal people. Yet, no one could be relied upon outside a close circle. Therefore, the key positions in the strategic sectors are held by the same people—those trusted by the prime minister.

Is this the way that Zhan surrounds himself with his own people, or is it the people who surround the prime minister, by concentrating the entire real economic power in their hands? Could it be that those who should advise the young prime minister are becoming his managers?

Ivan Angelov is the most likely brain of the "clean hands" operation. This was demonstrated by his first more extensive role in cleaning the economic stables. The "power industry" action contains, in a purified shape, all elements of the reform currently taking place. To begin with, the professor accused the chiefs of the power industry of corruption. He hinted at some petty charges on television and said that he expected to be sued so that he could bring to light the real crimes. He then asked that no increases in electric power for consumer use be allowed. Finally, he drafted his own plan for the development of the sector, that is 180 degrees different from the plan drafted by the specialists from the Power Industry Committee. This draft has not been adopted yet, but it can be safely said that the main objectives have been attained: a gap has developed between the prime minister and one of his deputies. The position held by Dyanko Dobrev has been weakened and, at this point, the leadership of the NEK [National Power Complex] can be assigned to a member of the family.

Who Are the Closest Members of the Family?

Before the advent of democracy, Mr. Angelov advised the people in power. Later, he proclaimed himself a spokesmen for the BKP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and, donning a cap, at one of the first meetings in front of the parliament building, he said the following: "Brother Turks, once again you regained your own names." Later, he advised Andrey Lukanov and helped him draft his program which, in any case, did not go beyond the parliament. Those in the know claim that, in addition to his articles in DUMA, Ivan Angelov actively participated in rallies of Lilov's strategic center. The slogan in his statements was "You do not know how to manage." After his return from Japan, he said "I know everything." This trick was obviously successful, for he became Zhan's adviser and will even head an entire department in the government.

Mr. Baltov, who is another of Zhan's advisers and his spokesman, also combines his position as spokesman with membership in the bank's supervisory council. Nikola Baltov is not from Plovdiv, but attended the English-Language High School in that city, together with the prime minister. Members of the cabinet claim that, of late, Mr. Baltov has been much more active in his role as banker rather than spokesman. He was steadily in touch with Dimitur Dimitrov, the chief of the BKK [expansion unknown] instead of with various journalists. In principle, he graduated in international law in Moscow and was active in diplomacy. Specialists wonder how will he help the Prime Minister in banking matters.

Vladimir Zheglov, Videnov's main economic adviser, is the head of Biokhim, the new bank. According to observers, this comes closer to the peak of economic power by the new galaxy of "businessmen with state involvement" or, more accurately, supporters of the "Komsomol" wave within the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. That same Zheglov is also a member of the Neftokhim Board. This former journalist from the international department of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, and later, founder of the newspaper BULGARSKI BIZNES and personal friend of Zhan's from his student years, is knowledgeable in banking and petroleum, not to mention the global economic advice he gives to the prime minister. No one knows why so far no one had ever heard of him in those areas.

Another person close to the prime minister is a member of the Neftokhim Administrative Council: Plamen Vulkanov, parliamentary secretary of the Council of Ministers. He is a lawyer by training and was a representative in the previous National Assembly.

Krasimir Nikolov, chief of office, also sets some time aside for banking as member of the supervisory council of the Serdika Bank. Mr. Nikolov is indeed a leader in the field of protocol and public relations. However, no one suspected his familiarity with banking, according to people in the know. He was a representative in the VNS [Grand National Assembly] and, later, chief of protocol of the Council of Ministers during the Dimitur Popov period. Before the new government came to power, he was somewhere in the shadow and had nothing to do with banks.

Therefore, in addition to controlling the executive and party powers in the government, the prime minister's advisers will be in charge of the economy. The entire state economy is already in the hands of the new or somewhat older cadres. The common link between them is that they were chosen by the prime minister,

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the chairman of the BSP, with the help of his closest advisers.

As reported by the press, in the past two months alone, more than 430 heads of industrial enterprises were laid off. Most of those enterprises had shown a profit last year.

According to the economists, it is not all that terrible that the personnel are being replaced.

What Is Terrible Is When a Specialist Is Replaced by a Layperson

It may turn out that the closest to the prime minister will be those who will bring about his fall. There is constant talk that the party has cadres. Why is it then that such cadres do not assume key positions? The heads of the giants of Bulgarian industry were also replaced during the very first months of the new cabinet. It may seem strange, but unlike the time when this was being done by F.D. [former prime minister Filip Dimitrov], the trade unions are not making too much noise. The press, as well, merely noted the fact. The leadership of the Power Industry Committee was replaced; the board of Kremikovtsi was replaced. The Neftokhim Company was made directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers. New leaders were appointed to run Khimko in Vratsa; the Balkankar Holding Company, Stomana in Pernik, the Verila EOOD [sole proprietorship with limited liability] Company, the Periferna Tekhnika Company, and others changed managers. After the Topenerdzhi affair, Bulgargaz became directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers. However, the head of the company was not replaced. If the "new people" are such great specialists, why are they not appointed to head loosing enterprises, the victims of such changes ask.

The managers of most banks were also replaced. In addition to the advisers we already mentioned, other examples may be cited. Entsislav Kharmandzhiev, deputy minister of economic development, was given a position in the Economic Bank. Valentin Korkinov, the titular chief secretary of the Council of Ministers, is a member of the supervisory council of the United Bulgarian Bank. Another member is Dimitur Dimitrov, deputy minister of economic development and chairman of the Council of Directors of the Bank Consolidation Company. Gancho Ganchev, another deputy minister, chief of the Economic Forecasting and Development Agency, is member of the Khebrosbank Supervisory Council. Five or six other state banks have still not held their annual meetings, but it is entirely clear as to who will become member of their supervisory councils. It would be an exaggeration to say that all newly appointed people are "Zhan's people." Some of them are members of the party. They have also contributed to the assumption of power by the BSP. Some were given deputy ministerial positions. For example, Ivan Bogdanov, former BCP Central Committee instructor, became deputy minister of culture. Milan Kolev, former secretary for ideological affairs of the Shumen Okrug BCP Committee, was also made deputy minister of culture.

Moreover, there is a more prosaic reason for appointments to various directorship boards, known as "payback" or, officially, receiving one or several salaries, for most of these people are not just holding supervisory or administrative council positions. For example, Mr. Korkinov is a member of the Sheraton Administrative Council. Only four years ago, one of the advisers of the then Prime Minister Popov, was paid about $500 monthly for such activities. The salary of today's state employee Korkinov is not known. It turns out that once again the taxpayers are paying for party loyalty and application.

Is it possible that the party cannot pay or, as it has become customary, and as it turns out to be cheaper, to pay with the help of the taxpayers? No law is violated. The same was done by F.D. as well. Actually, it was he who introduced the practice of including "outsiders" in various administrations. According to people close to him from that time, he himself told them that this was a way to increase their income, for "official salaries are low." However, it is not a question exclusively of income but of real power. The practice of introducing outsiders in various boards exists throughout the world. However, they are not employees but socially significant personalities. It would be difficult to claim that an unknown person, such as Mr. Korkinov, is one such individual. Before becoming chief secretary of the Council of Ministers, he paid his dues to the TsIK [Central Executive Committee]. Before that he was unemployed. Now he is chief secretary and member of two boards.

One of the basic activities of any new government, obviously, is to appoint new people as members of the administrative and supervisory councils. In addition to Topenerdzhi, this cabinet exceeded the previous cabinets and issued a decree that even deputy ministers could become members of such institutions. The individual who was the beneficiary of this gesture did not appreciate it, and became vice president of Multigroup.

According to the KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria], in four years of democracy more than 5,000 state administrators were laid off. In February, Vuchev, the minister of industry, announced that he would not make substitutions. According to the

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press, which almost guessed right, such substitutions were expected to take place in the month of May.

The purges are continuing.

For the time being, the sullen expressions on the faces of the ministers after government meetings have become clearly visible. It turns out that the prime minister trusts his advisers more than his cabinet colleagues. Time will show who will prevail.

SDS Declaration Condemns BSP's Policy

AU0910194995 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Oct 95 p 1

["Declaration of the Union of Democratic Forces: 'BSP's Dangerous Policy Isolates Us in Europe'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The decision of the EU ministers of internal affairs and justice to leave Bulgaria on the negative list of countries whose citizens require visas for the EU states has evoked a strong public reaction. We are greatly concerned about Bulgaria's isolation and about our citizens being put in a humiliating position. Simultaneously, we can only describe as false and disinformation the claims of the ruling majority that this decision, which has been taken by a consensus, is a result of inertia, an accident, or a mistake. It is rather a result and an assessment of the dangerous policy being conducted by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and its coalition, a policy that does not correspond to the EU criteria and the requirements to have the country's name removed from the negative list in question.

The implementation of those requirements would mean a comprehensive change in the BSP's present restoration policy. However, the parliamentary majority is doing just the opposite by passing laws that directly violate the Constitution and restrict private property and the ownership of land. While the world is sharply condemning terrorism, deputies from the Democratic Left are visiting camps of the Kurdish Workers' Party Marxist terrorist organization. At the most tense moment of the Yugoslav conflict, the BSP is exchanging parliamentary and governmental delegations with the Serbian socialists. Deputies of the Russian Duma have been hosted in the Bulgarian parliament, where in a manner inadmissible in diplomacy, they insisted on violating the embargo against Serbia. And the unwillingness of the government to cope with organized crime is obvious.

The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is struggling against this retreat from the European road. Stressing the responsibility of the government, the SDS declares that the consequences of the decision should not fall on the shoulders of the Bulgarian citizens.

In the eyes of the international public, the SDS is the factor that guarantees the irreversible character of the democratic transformations in Bulgaria, thus asserting Bulgaria's international prestige.

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Bosnian President Izetbegovic Arrives in Prague

LD1310103495 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic arrived for a two-day working visit at the invitation of Czech President Vaclav Havel.

He will meet the Czech president briefly in the morning. He will also meet Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec. He will then deliver a lecture in Rudolfinum about the future of multiethnic coexistence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

President Klaus Meets Major, Thatcher

LD1210162595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1430 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BLACKPOOL, Oct 12 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus held talks on Anglo-Czech relations and the European Union with his British opposite number John Major today.

Speaking after the talks, Major said the British government admired the successes which Klaus and his government had achieved.

In a speech to the Conservative Party conference today, Klaus said that his Civic Democratic Party (ODS) considered the Conservatives to be a very close ally and shared a number of opinions with them, such as on European integration or the role of the individual in society.

Klaus also met with Major's predecessor Margaret Thatcher today, along with British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind.

Deputy Culture Minister Prokop Resigns

LD1310104695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech Deputy Culture Minister Michal Prokop resigned today. David Cerny has the details:

[Cerny] Michal Prokop has so far refused to state the reasons for which he resigned because Culture Minister Pavel Tigrid is on a business trip to the Frankfurt Book Fair. He said that he would state the arguments that led him to resignation immediately after the minister's return on Tuesday. Prokop has given his assurance that he will continue to be involved in politics.

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President Kovac Discusses Ties, Trade in Germany

Meets German President Herzog

LD1310093395 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 0858 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bonn (DDP/ADN)—German President Roman Herzog and his Slovak counterpart, Michal Kovac, discussed German-Slovak relations in Bonn today. During the informal talks, they also discussed questions relating to the European security structure and to the process of bringing central European countries closer to the European Union, the German president's office announced. Kovac is in Germany on a private visit.

Herzog made assurances that Germany will continue to back the reform process in the Slovak Republic, and Slovakia's ability to join the EU will be considerably influenced by the results of this process. He acknowledged Kovac's particular contribution toward building up democratic institutions in Slovakia.

The German president also referred to the favorable development of mutual economic relations, and stressed interest in having advantageous framework conditions for foreign investors. This is imperative for a further economic upturn in the former eastern bloc.

Germany is the number one foreign investor in Slovakia. Slovakia is one of the few countries in central Europe that has a positive trade balance with Germany.

Downplays 'Internal Political Situation'

LD1210185095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak President Michal Kovac started his visit to Bonn at the invitation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation just before midday today. Our Bonn correspondent, Branislav Zvara, reports on the talks and meetings between the Slovak president and his German partners. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Kovac] During our talks with the deputies we strove to emphasize that despite the current internal political problems in Slovakia, our country is interested in becoming a part of the European structures and NATO as soon as possible, together with the other countries of central Europe.

I asked them not to overestimate the current political situation in Slovakia, not to draw incorrect conclusions, and not to leave Slovakia in isolation. In fact, I called for a more intensive political dialogue with Slovakia and with Slovak officials.

Similarly, when I spoke with officials from the Association of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, I called for progress in our economic relations as this, in my view, is the way West European democratic countries can help to overcome temporary problems which might sometimes appear in the internal political development of any given country.

[Zvara] Did the German side comment on the internal political situation in Slovakia?

[Kovac] They did not touch on this too much, referring to press information. Naturally, they said that our internal political situation was causing certain doubts and fears. My task was to disperse these doubts and fears and attempt to explain the temporary character of this phenomenon and the irreversibility of our interest in joining the European structures and NATO. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Kovac Views Economy, SIS, Leaders' Conflict

AU1210205195 Bratislava SME in Slovak 11 Oct 95 p 5

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Robert Kotian and Peter Toth; place and date not given: "President of the Slovak Republic Michal Kovac: I See a Solution in Neither the Resignation of the President nor the Resignation of Mr. Meciar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For almost two years, President of the Slovak Republic Michal Kovac has been a target of attacks by the parties of the present government coalition. We had planned the interview that he granted to our daily much earlier—after the publication of the statement of the Slovak Government, in which the cabinet of Vladimir Meciar appealed to the president of the Republic to resign. The meeting with the head of the state could be organized, however, only after the release of his son from custody in Vienna pending extradition proceedings....

[SME] Slovak society is divided today according to opinions on numerous issues, be it foreign political orientation, method of privatization, or even your person.... What is your vision of modern Slovakia at the turn of the millennium, and your idea of a new modern state that could bridge this division and bring together most of the citizens of Slovakia and its politicians?

[Kovac] I consider it appropriate for the president and the political representatives to specify incessantly their own visions, but the important thing is that they come together in time, and the government can then work on such a conjunction of visions. I believe, however, that Slovakia cannot implement a policy that would be fundamentally different from that of other central European countries. Slovakia should be a stabilizing factor in Central Europe, a democratic country contributing

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to the Pan-European integration. To achieve this, however, a lot must be done in the attitude of our people, in furtherance of the legal character of the state, in the economy, and, above all, the human factor must be cultivated, especially its intellectual side. We must continue building a civic society in which the authority and powers of autonomous bodies will steadily continue to grow. We need a legal system that would facilitate the development of extragovernmental civic society and associations, so that the state no longer need to interfere in economic and civic life but rather serve the development of civic society while maintaining only those functions that the citizens cannot exercise through the autonomous bodies or extragovernmental organizations.

[SME] You are referring to a certain minimum program on which the opposition and the coalition entities could actually agree. In your opinion, why is this project failing? According to what you said, we cannot afford to implement a different policy than the other central European countries; yet, Slovakia was assessed most negatively of all of them, and it is also being singled out from among the Visegrad Four. In view of this, do you still believe that we are really implementing the same policy as the other central European countries?

[Kovac] So far, we have not stayed behind very much. To date, the delay is negligible if we disregard the fact that our image is different than that of Hungary, for instance, or the Czech Republic. It can still all be remedied, and pointed in such a direction so as to prevent Slovakia from falling out of the first wave in the process of integration into the European structures. Nevertheless, there are differences both positive and negative.

[SME] Why does it not succeed?

[Kovac] I would explain it by the great differences in the perception of democracy and the function of a democratic state, and in the comprehension of the prevailing majority in a democratic state. Moreover, there are doubts as to whether it really is the best for Slovakia to orient itself toward the European structures and NATO membership. I am referring in particular to the opinions expressed by the Association of Workers of Slovakia and the Slovak National Party. This would not really come as a surprise if it were not for the fact that they are parties of the government coalition. Because they do, however, belong to the government coalition, and all the central European countries are in a certain critical period of assessment of their activities by the NATO and European Union member countries, this difference in opinions of the coalition partners regarding the orientation of Slovakia, whether it should move West or remain neutral without any integration into the European structures, could tremendously harm Slovakia.

[SME] How do you explain that Vladimir Meciar, who on the surface declares Slovakia's intention to integrate into NATO and the EU, and speaks everywhere about the Western orientation, tolerates next to him a coalition partner who proclaims something else and thereby casts doubts on his declared efforts? At the same time, we are aware of the prime minister having difficulties with tolerating in his proximity people who hold different views.

[Kovac] It is rather unusual for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, which even has the integration of the Slovak Republic into NATO and the EU in its program, to actually tolerate different points of view of its coalition partners in such a critical situation. A feasible explanation would be that Vladimir Meciar is not intrinsically ready for a coalition other than the present one. As he feels himself to be the person who knows best what Slovakia needs, despite the partners' different ideas regarding the orientation of Slovakia, Meciar is willing to form the government with them and, unfortunately, at any cost. He is unable to form the government with someone else with whom he agrees on the foreign political orientation. Another possible explanation is the question of whether Meciar is really serious in his declarations of orientation toward NATO and the EU. For myself, I do not doubt these declarations, although many people have been asking this question. Contrary to this go the specific steps like Partnership for Peace, cooperation with the U.S. Army, EU membership application, or the harmonization of Slovak law with its European counterpart. One would at least expect that the prime minister would dissociate himself from the stance of his coalition partners. The foreign political orientation of Slovakia towards the EU and NATO should be above the interests of individual coalition partners.

[SME] We, the world around us, and possibly you, too, were surprised by the good macroeconomic results of the Slovak Republic over the past two years. These were really unexpected results. How would you explain it?

[Kovac] One must realize that Slovakia took over a system that had been built within the framework of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic until then. The system of centrally planned economy was terminated, the liberalization process was implemented, and legislative foundations were laid for the market system operation. In this respect, we entered the period of the independent Slovak state with the same system that existed in the Czech Republic. During 1993, we added other necessary legislative measures, and our own currency was

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established. The staff of the National Bank of Slovakia mastered the fundamentals of central bank operations relatively quickly, and they managed to implement some measures. We had the same breeding ground for the operation of businessmen as the Czech Republic. Another external aspect was the period of recovery. We are, similarly to Czech and Hungarian industries, competitive because of the cheap labor. Of course, we also have many skilled technicians, workers, and research scientists. Hence it was possible to utilize this potential and offer quality products at competitive prices. We managed to utilize the boom particularly in 1994. These good macroeconomic results are not so surprising for me, personally, because I did not expect such a great decline after the partition of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic as other economists did. Nor did I expect such a great devaluation as economists from another grouping did. I realistically expected that the volume of trade between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic would decline somewhat, because a new mechanism for mutual payments had to be introduced following the introduction of two separate currencies. I have always been convinced that if a market system begins to work between the Czech and the Slovak businessmen, and the prices will not be artificially controlled, many problems can be settled in the price sphere. The system of unified economy contained remnants of a different mechanism. For myself, I believe that trade between Slovakia and the Czech Republic was not balanced, and that by means of the price system, data for the manufacture in Slovakia was registered in Czech enterprises, and reflected in the figures for the Czech economy to the detriment of the Slovak economy.

[SME] The favorable macroeconomic indicators are encouraging but, at the same time, a privatization method is being implemented in Slovakia that does not guarantee development in the economy or a growth of the population's standard of living. To achieve good macroeconomic indicators without improving the standard of living is not likely to be optimal....

[Kovac] Advocates of various privatization concepts claim that the purpose of privatization is to create a class of owners capable of managing the property. Those who promote privatization by means of a direct sale to selected employee or employer associations, or to other selected groups whom they believe would be good and careful owners, are building on false premises. The great enterprises in the West are great not because of their careful owners, but rather because they have a qualified management. The managers are interested in the long-term development, and have the opportunity to own shares of their enterprise. It is the management that is the real basis for the success of the enterprise. The unification of the owner and the manager in a single person works only in small or midsize enterprises. It does not apply to enterprises that we are about to privatize. I do not accept the argument that some enterprise must be given to a group that appears to be the best qualified one today because it will not remain here for the next 20 years. The property will then be inherited by their children and they may not have any interest whatsoever in the property, and only want to collect their dividends. It is professional managers rather than the owner who will take care of the property permanently. With small exceptions, no Slovak citizen can realistically hope to purchase the jointly acquired national property. Therefore, I am of the opinion that the property should be fairly divided. There is no one in this country to sell it to for cash down. We can sell some of it to foreign customers so as to correspond to our strategic interests. This would provide us with realistic financial resources. The rest should be fairly divided. We have endorsed coupon privatization as the fairest method, and it should have been continued. If the property is divided unfairly, the contemporary society and those who come after us will never come to terms with it. It will be a potential source of future tensions. The social feeling of our citizen may be distorted at times, i.e., when he believes that it is fair if everyone owns the same property, but, in this instance, it is fair if everyone partakes in the distribution of the property that was generated by all, and not only by those who worked in the enterprises.

[SME] Both you and the prime minister endorsed each for himself the "Centesimus Annus" encyclical of Pope John Paul II. It emphasizes principles of civic freedom, the right to private property, the dignity of man, and the necessity for protection on the part of the state of the weak against the strong. Do you believe that these principles are taken into account within the framework of the economic transformation in this state?

[Kovac] I do not believe so. If the politicians who subscribe to the principles of Catholic Church social policy observed these principles, they would respect in the matter of dividing the property the fact that everyone took part in the generation of national property. The offer that the present government coalition makes in this respect is, according to my humble opinion, far from the principles of the papal encyclicals.

[SME] You mentioned similar legislative points of departure for Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, we bear witness to abandoning some principles. You have returned several economic laws back to the parliament. The opposition deputies submitted them recently to the Constitutional Court. For what are the foundations really being laid in the Slovak economy?

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[Kovac] True, some laws contain elements that contradict the constitutional principle of equality of ownership. They also contradict, however, the trend of limiting the state's control. We should pay a close attention to this, if only because of the unification of our legislation and that of the European Union member states. I believe that we want to integrate into the EU. Therefore I believe that some of the differences in the laws, which certainly do not correspond to the EU legislation, cannot remain in effect in the long run. We must adjust them sooner or later if we actually endeavor to join the European structures.

[SME] Nevertheless, these objections are not important to the government....

[Kovac] Maybe the government coalition prefers a different principle right now, and subordinates the privatization process to its ideas of linking the party and economic interests. It could be the decisive criterion for them right now, and therefore they disregard for the time being the factor of convergence of our economic legislation with European law.

[SME] The market economic system does not exist in democratic countries only. Could it be that attempts are made in our country at forming an authoritarian state with a market economy, in which people who benefited from privatization would not want to give up their property?

[Kovac] One cannot be so definite. After all, elements identical with the system in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland prevail in Slovakia. The deviation is not as large as to threaten the essence of the market and democratic system. There are certain attempts, however, to ensure an economic influence and a permanent economic basis for partisan political interests. Moreover, some law amendments and government measures are intended for this purpose. An expansion of the mechanism facilitating such linkage would actually damage the competition interests of Slovak firms, and reflect in a more pronounced lag of Slovakia behind the other central European countries.

[SME] What is your stand with respect to the most recent attack against you, the one concerning your alleged Austrian bank account, and how do you feel about the chief editor of the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA daily, Jan Smolec?

[Kovac] The SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA chief editor took on himself the struggle against the president of the Slovak Republic by means of dirty methods. The latest undertaking, which they may have kept up their sleeve as a great trump card, does not at all stick out from the arsenal of dirty methods, and the false statement from my alleged account most likely originated in the same workshop as other attacks of this kind. A legal complaint against Smolec is ready and I will also file charges against him. A daily that deliberately disseminates disinformation and untruth to persecute a citizen, regardless of whether it is the president or a person of a different status, does not deserve respect of its readers. The chief editor in effect underestimates the reader, misguides him, and deliberately cheats him. Does such a paper deserve the trust of an honest citizen?

[SME] What possible reasons could the chief editor of SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA have for such an attack, when he must have known that his claims would prove false the very next day?

[Kovac] A person who carries within him hatred for someone is very impatient. He would like to see the hated person destroyed as soon as possible. He does not think rationally. Prior to the parliamentary vote of no confidence in the president, the prime minister published an accusation that I had him and the National Council of the Slovak Republic chairman deliberately shadowed. Similarly to that instance, they again thought that it would have an effect on the deputies if they learned that the frequently moralizing president of the republic is in fact a thief who dishonestly amassed millions. They may have believed that this fantastic report would net them the eight deputies they need to impeach the president.

[SME] After the abduction of your son, it seemed as if Michal Kovac, the president, and Michal Kovac, the father, entered into an internal altercation. Some of the formulations you used were not the most fortunate ones, and they have been used against you....

[Kovac] If you want to, you can misuse anything. If I did not react at all, it could also be misused. Whether or not I mentioned foreign accounts of other people could not have a decisive effect—or what I replied to the letter from Orme. Something else is of importance. Meciar does not make any secrets about his final goal being to find the best suitable method of disposing of the president from the political scene. He even emphasizes that it must be done in a democratic manner. Nevertheless, I do not see the democratic manner, for neither the act of high treason, nor activities aimed at the removal of the democratic regime, nor those aimed at a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country have actually taken place. Neither factual nor constitutional reasons exist for the dismissal of the president. Since anything is possible in this country, however, the aforementioned acts can be "fabricated." Nevertheless, this will no longer constitute a constitutional democratic step but rather a political

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trial like those by means of which we "gained notoriety" in the 1950's!

[SME] A conflict exists on our political scene. It seems that the decision by Vladimir Meciar to remove the president is final, and just as definite is your resolution to remain in office. Given the present distribution of power, how do you expect this conflict to be resolved?

[Kovac] I do not see the solution in the resignation of either the president or Mr. Meciar. Nevertheless, it is necessary that Meciar and the government coalition abandon the policy that harms the interests of Slovakia and creates this type of confrontational atmosphere. It is an important premise for normal operation of all constitutional institutions and constitutional officials even if the trust is impaired. The Constitution defines their powers, and these, in turn, imply the necessary extent of their cooperation. At the same time, it is necessary to comply with the Constitution and respect the law. For me personally it is very important that the investigation of an abduction of a Slovak citizen and kidnapping him abroad could continue without any interference and in accordance with our laws. Not only our citizens, but foreign countries, too, await the outcome, and consider the detection of the culprits a serious test of our democracy. If we find the culprits, it will demonstrate that the Office of the Prosecutor General, Police Corps, and investigators work independently, and that laws are respected in this country.

[SME] A report came from your office that after Ivan Lexa assumed the post of director of the Slovak Information Service [SIS], he ceased to pass on to you any information needed for the execution of your work. Have you sent him a letter in this respect, asking him to provide you with the information to which you have rights as specified in the law?

[Kovac] I asked Ivan Lexa for information on the SIS's new orientation, i.e., what the secret service does in the interest of protection of the constitutional officials. I was given a ruthless answer containing a list of everything that is being followed in relation to the president of the Republic, his son, and office, that means of everything which is at variance with the law on the SIS. Of course, I immediately wrote a letter to the prime minister, the National Council of the Slovak Republic chairman, and the chairman of OKO [special parliamentary body for supervising the SIS]. Meciar responded to my demand that he do something about Lexa by saying that the president continues collecting information on other constitutional officials. He turned it completely around. Therefore, I am preparing some steps, by means of which I intend to prove that the SIS violates laws, and contrary to law collects information not to protect constitutional officials but rather to discredit them.

[SME] The prime minister said that by casting doubts on the democratic system in Slovakia, the president will bring the country into isolation with respect to the international relations, and into internal struggle between two camps. Would you care to comment?

[Kovac] I refute the accusation of casting doubts on the democratic system in Slovakia. The doubts are cast on the system by the specific measures of the parliamentary majority that resulted even in a demarche of EU states. I am only trying to explain this phenomenon of casting doubts on the democratic system by the government coalition, and do everything in my power to help us avoid such practices. It is sad that Prime Minister Meciar wants to make the president into the guilty party responsible for the image of Slovakia abroad not being the most favorable one. I see in these accusations an attempt to prevent any criticism of our domestic situation. It is dangerous because if we prevented criticism, we could get into a very precarious situation, one that was here once before. That, in turn, could lead us into isolation. We must not allow the specter of fear to spread around our country, complete obedience, and submission. Truth, freedom, democracy, and decency must prevail!

Kovac on Government's 'Defamation Campaign'

AU1310085895 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Oct 95 p 6

[Article by Berthold Kohler: "Mr. Meciar Tends Toward an Authoritarian Regime"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava, 10 Oct—The Slovak president was at least spared the visit to the bank in the morning. "I have just received a message from Austria saying that the account does not exist, and that what SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA wrote concerning the existence of my account was wrong. This means that someone produced a forgery for the needs of SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA. These are dirty methods, which I condemn," Michal Kovac stated, putting a note aside that his secretary gave him during our conversation. On the previous day, the president was still considering visiting the neighboring country personally to deal with the most recent defamation campaign against himself. The Bratislava paper, which has been waging an evil mudslinging campaign against the head of state in the past few months, published a clumsily forged statement of account, claiming that Kovac has a credit balance of 23 million schillings with the Austrian Raiffeisen bank.

Kovac could probably ignore the absurd allegations and insults, which the political scandal sheet pours over

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the head of state nearly every day if not a powerful and embittered enemy were behind this paper and this campaign—Prime Minister Meciar and his "Movement for a Democratic Slovakia" (HZDS). Meciar, who personally spread the rumor about Kovac's alleged millions, has for a long time been trying at all costs to remove the president from office. The government accuses the president of "incompetence," "betrayal," and "destabilizing the Slovak state." Kovac, who was one of the founding members of the HZDS and Meciar's candidate for the president's office, sees the main reason for the mudslinging against himself in his efforts to remain politically independent. "I assume that we have different ideas about democracy, and that I am one of the most important obstacles preventing Meciar from implementing his ideas."

The president said that he did not want to "yield to the prime minister's will" and become his "instrument." This is what Meciar apparently wanted and expected. As early as in May 1993, three months after his election to the highest office in the state, the prime minister told him that "without him I would be nothing, just like my friends with whom we established the HZDS, together with Mr. Meciar." Meciar told him that there would be no independent Slovakia without himself, Meciar, that the state would collapse without him, and that no foreign capital would flow into the country without him. He, Kovac rejects all these theories. "At that point, I realized that Meciar was deluding himself that he is the only person who can save Slovakia and turn it into a second Switzerland."

When assessing the democracy concept of his former friend in the party, kovac did not shy away from using clear words in an interview with FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE: "Mr. Meciar tends toward an authoritarian regime." Meciar and his coalition believed that they could decide everything with their majority "and that they could restrict democracy. In other words, a parliamentary majority can also be used to destroy democracy." "Certain restrictions" have already taken place. "An enemy is constantly being sought with whom Meciar can fight." The creation of hostile images is typical of Meciar's governing style. The president pointed out that he considers "the permanent confrontation an undesirable political decision, because, in our view, it is a struggle for life and death."

However, Kovac does not simply want to give up and retreat, even though the prime minister is making life as difficult as possible for him. Particularly in the present situation, he should not resign, the president believes. He has frequently claimed that he wants to stay in office until the end of his term in spring 1998. The 65-year-old Kovac, who seems to be relaxed but determined, said that he is surviving the campaign against himself, which culminated in the kidnapping of his son, "quite well because I firmly believe that such practices have no future, not in Slovakia either." If he should still become a victim of these practices, this would only be preliminary. "My struggle would not be in vain." Never before has he experienced so much support among the population. So long as television and radio (both controlled by the HZDS) "are not misused for a biased campaign against myself," Kovac is not afraid of a referendum, which Meciar is considering holding to remove the president.

The president believes that the key to easing the most severe state crisis during the three years of the Republic's existence is in the hands of the government. "Everything could continue well if Meciar abandoned his confrontational governing style in politics." Meciar's methods include the misuse of the secret service SIS [Slovak Information Service] and SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA for spreading disinformation and for discrediting the political opposition. The personnel policy and the way various posts in the administration are filled must be changed. "We need people there who are experienced in their field of activity and morally. Mr. Meciar prefers servile people."

Kovac is convinced that the abduction of his son to Austria at the end of August was designed to exert pressure on him. There are "numerous signs—direct and indirect—that show that the SIS was also involved in the kidnapping." Moreover, efforts are apparently being made to prevent the clarification of the case. Two of the responsible police investigators have been dismissed. "All this suggests that the SIS is involved, and that the government now wants to cover things up in one way or another."

The president considers it possible that the secret service, which is controlled by the Meciar aide and Kovac enemy Lexa, acted on its own initiative. Some of Meciar's actions and statements—the fact that he did not distance himself from the kidnapping, for instance—have placed the prime minister "in a bad light." In other countries, the secret service chief and not the investigating police officers would be replaced in the event of the evidence that is available, Kovac stated. The government does not show any interest in an independent clarification of the case, as expected by the society. Of course, Kovac no longer trusts the secret service, which should protect him, too. He is also "worried about some steps by the chief public prosecutor."

The president also expressed concern about the most recent contradictions in Slovakia's foreign policy. The

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statements by the chauvinist "Slovak National Party" (SNS), one of the coalition partners of the HZDS, against NATO membership are causing "justified doubts, particularly when the government or the head of government does not distance himself." So far, he used to assume that the government will continue its course aimed at Slovakia's integration into NATO and the EU. The president does not consider Meciar's often quoted statement that Slovakia will turn to the East if it is not welcome in the West to be a complete bluff: "I am also afraid of this idea."

The president is personally worried about the government's failure to take a few specific steps. As it is common knowledge that a functioning democracy is the precondition for NATO membership, the head of government should do everything possible "to prove that democracy is working here." Kovac said he hoped that the "negative processes" that have started with the constituent session of parliament in November last year (the coalition took control of half of the state apparatus in one night) are of a nonrecurring nature. At the time, he assumed that the coalition would "decode correctly" the demarche sent by the EU as a result. However, just like other citizens, he was probably wrong.

In spite of all scandals and quarrels, just over 1,000 days after the declaration of the country's sovereignty, the Slovak president also sees considerable progress concerning the establishment of a citizens' society. In the towns and villages, thousands of people are learning how to govern democratically. Other countries do not only see the negative but also the positive sides. Thus, he believes that Slovakia's reputation is "not completely bad."

Investigator Criticizes Conduct of Abduction Case

AU1210192595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Oct 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Jan Kostov, director of the Police Corps Section of Investigation and Criminal Expert Analyses, by Noro Lazar; place and date not given: "I Want To Bring the Whole Case to a Conclusion...."]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On 7 October 1995, Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Lamacka was dismissed from the post of director of the Police Corps Section of Investigation and Criminal Expert Analyses. A day later, Lieutenant Colonel Jan Kostov was appointed to this post. His previous place of work was Banska Bystrica, where he held the post of director of the Police Corps District Office of Investigations. The newly appointed director granted our daily an interview on the further steps in the investigation of the case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad. [passage omitted]

[Lazar] What are your ideas about further steps in the investigation?

[Kostov] I will take steps so that the whole affair is investigated in a legal way—that is, in accordance with the Penal Code—and objectively.

[Lazar] Will the investigating team function in its present composition?

[Kostov] That, too, is one of the possibilities. There are also other alternatives, but it is premature to talk about them. At any rate, we will choose an alternative that will provide the greatest guarantees that interference on the part of political groupings, for example, will be prevented and that no facts about the case will be published before the investigator, the prosecutor, and any other body involved in criminal proceedings become familiar with them.

[Lazar] What are your ideas about publicity regarding the case?

[Kostov] It is true that the Constitution guarantees citizens' the right to information. However, it is also necessary to consider that the file on the investigation has not been closed, and it is necessary to remain silent because it is an official secret. Details should be published only when the case has been completely closed or, as the case may be, when irrefutable evidence becomes available. And not, as has been the case thus far, that the investigator does something for which he does not have irrefutable evidence. In such a case, it can be assumed that the investigator's decision is premature or unlawful.

[Lazar] Does this mean that the supply of information on the partial results of the investigation will be halted?

[Kostov] No. It means, rather, that the public will be informed about the case when objective information about the perpetrator or perpetrators becomes available.

[Lazar] A rumor is circulating that the director of the Regional Office of Investigations and his deputy, who conducted the investigation, are also to be dismissed in connection with the case.

[Kostov] They are still at their posts. I have not had consultations with them yet. For the time being, I see no reason to dismiss them from their posts, as long as they carry out their official duties in accordance with their job description and the law.

[Lazar] Are you going to coordinate the course of the investigation yourself, or will you be appointing someone to do this?

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[Kostov] I will secure upper-level cooperation with the criminal police and the Office of Investigations. Direct enforcement will be secured by an independent investigator, and no office holder will interfere with his powers.

[Lazar] Do you expect political pressures in connection with the investigation of this case?

[Kostov] The whole case has been rather politicized to date. We will resist pressures. I want to bring the whole case to a conclusion, according to the facts of the case and in the spirit of the Penal Code.

New 'Intelligence Game' in Works

AU1210194295 Bratislava SME in Slovak 11 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "pt": "File on Investigation of Michal Kovac Jr.'s Kidnapping Is in the Hands of Prosecutor General Michal Valo"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] The SME editorial office has received information that stationery with the company letterhead and the official company stamp has been stolen from Technopol [company that fell victim to a $2.3 million fraud allegedly involving the president's son]. It is to be used in another intelligence game, part of which will be the publication of forged correspondence between Technopol and Michal Kovac Jr., aimed at discrediting the president and his son. We were told in Technopol that they do not know anything about the theft of company stationery with the official stamp. In an interview for SME, the employee in charge voiced the view that stationery with the company letterhead can be produced by "anyone and so can an ordinary stamp, if it is not a round one."

Role of Opposition Debated

AU1310111595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers on 11 October publish a number of reports and commentaries on the 10th "extraordinary" meeting of Slovak parliament, convened on 10 October to clarify the role of the Slovak Information Service in the abduction of Michal Kovac, Jr. to Austria, which ended only seven minutes after the parliamentary majority voted down the meeting's agenda. The reports and commentaries focus on the role played at the meeting by Common Choice, the Party of the Democratic Left-led [SDL-led] coalition of left-wing parties, which did not take part in the subsequent session of opposition parliamentary clubs but issued a separate statement on the thwarted parliament meeting.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 11 October on page 1 carries a 300-word report by parliamentary correspondents Nora Sliskova and Milan Stanislav entitled "The Prime Minister Applauded SDL Deputies." The report notes that the announcement by Robert Fico, chairman of the Common Choice parliamentary club, that the Common Choice club would hold a "separate" meeting and would not attend the joint meeting of the other opposition parties "triggered applause from coalition deputies and Prime Minister Meciar. Maria Durisinova (SDL), too, enthusiastically applauded her colleagues."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 11 October on page 3 carries an 800-word commentary by Jan Fule entitled "Why Was the Prime Minister Yesterday Applauding Left-Wing Leaders?" Fule criticizes the decision of Common Choice to go its "own way" and not to support a joint course of action by all opposition parties, arguing that this "palpably weakens" the opposition. He also believes that this decision will escalate "confrontation" within Common Choice itself. Fule says: "There were 13 deputies at the meeting of the Common Choice parliamentary club. Seven of them voted for the statement. Neither Social Democratic [Social Democratic Party of Slovakia—SDSS] deputies nor Brigita Schmognerova (SDL), for example, who left the meeting room several times, supported the statement. The group of deputies that voted for the statement could be called, with a certain degree of simplification, the 'Fogas group.' In this situation, it is only logical to ask how SDL Chairman Peter Weiss voted. His voting was in conformity with his current position in the party: He abstained. This means that the Common Choice statement and this style of policy, which could perhaps be named 'our own way,' not only does not weaken confrontation within society but even increases confrontation within the party."

Fule believes that "the Slovak Left will hardly gain new voters and will lose even its present voters with such a policy. Yesterday in parliament, Vladimir Meciar was not applauding Common Choice's absence from opposition talks. He was applauding because he saw how the left-wing leaders are gradually vacating space for him on the left of the political spectrum."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 11 October on page 1 carries a 500-word report by "bog, jo" on the 10th parliament meeting. According to the SME correspondents' information, when the Common Choice MP's voted on their parliamentary club's course of action, seven deputies supported a separate Common Choice meeting, while six voted against it.

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Ducky: Sk216 Billion Needed for Industry

AU1310104195 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by Martin Benko: "Will Sk216 Billion Be Enough?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—More than 216 billion korunas [Sk] will be required to invest in the development of Slovak industry over the next five years, said Economy Minister Jan Ducky in reply to a question from PRAVDA at yesterday's press briefing.

Approximately 65 percent of the necessary funds should be allocated from the industrial enterprises' own sources, and some will be represented by credits from the banks. The state will participate in the investments only symbolically. J. Ducky thinks that the enterprises that take part in implementing this program will be able to reach a standard competitive with West European firms and that the first positive results could be manifested in about 2000. He cited as an example Bratislava Slovnaft, which intends to invest $1 billion before the end of the century—$500 million in processing heavy oil residues and the remainder on improving the finalization of its own output. Slovnaft has obtained from the U.S. UOP company the most modern technology for the production of fuels in Central Europe; at the moment, the selection procedure for its supplier is under way. Eleven well-known companies have shown an interest. The minister emphasized that Slovakia is now among the world elite in the ecological production of fuels; we are one of the four countries in the world that no longer produces leaded gas.

In connection with the industrial policy discussed recently in the government, J. Ducky said that it respects the European Union's white book and the Essen and Maastricht conclusions. He emphasized that, in its formulation, the Slovak economy's so-called comparative advantages—the low cost of raw and processed materials and labor—were gradually relinquished.

Not Ruling Out Arms Production

AU1310095695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 6 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "(alg)": "J. Ducky Has Not Ruled Out the Resumption of Arms Production"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The industrial policy that the Slovak Government approved recently is, according to Economy Minister Jan Ducky, a general document that reflects the state's fundamental economic priorities. In its formulation, according to him, the decreasing significance of the comparative advantages that the Slovak Republic has—including the low cost of raw materials, energy, and especially labor—was taken into consideration. Ducky said that he presented a decree of appointment to Julius Toth, the president of the engineering Holding company, on 4 October. Holding should commence operations on 1 January 1996. Its task is to coordinate the activity of the enterprises, their commercial strategies, and financial flows, which should determine the recovery of engineering production and its restructuring. In this context, Ducky did not rule out the resumption of arms production and weapons exports. At present, the measures for technically and financially dealing with the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant are being defined. Ducky emphasized that none of the alternative solutions for the completion guarantee the same output within the required deadline and economic parameters. It is essential that the Bohunice and Mochovce nuclear power plants operate in tandem for at least a year, which will make it possible to obtain funds from the sale of electricity. In this context, Ducky did not rule out the possibility of extending the lifetime of Bohunice beyond the duration originally planned. Guaranteeing the safety of its operation, however, is a condition for this.

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NATO: Nuclear Weapons Not Precondition

LD1310115395 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hungary does not have to change its policy toward NATO as a result of the NATO study on the possibilities of the bloc's expansion published on 28 September. This was confirmed by Ferenc Somogyi, administrative state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, after his talks with Gerbhardt von Moltke, NATO deputy secretary general, who is holding negotiations in Budapest. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Referring to the fact that the Washington Treaty [founding NATO] does not recognize first-class and second-class members, Somogyi announced that Hungary is ready to satisfy all the requirements and to demand all the rights stemming from the Washington Treaty on which NATO is based. [passage omitted]

Moltke said the primary consideration for admitting new members would be to judge whether the state in question, once admitted, could contribute to the achievement of NATO's goals and European stability. The deputy secretary general said that it is not a basic precondition for admission that the new member state should have nuclear weapons stationed on its territory.

Foreign Minister on NATO Enlargement Decision

LD1210215195 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungary welcomes the Brussels decision on NATO's enlargement, which reflects Hungarian endeavors in nearly all significant issues, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs told NATO Deputy Secretary General Gebhardt von Moltke.

The Hungarian foreign minister said Hungary would like NATO to examine the applicants' suitability individually when making a decision on NATO membership.

[Begin Kovacs recording] Hungary has stressed from the beginning, in connection with both NATO and the EU, that we want individual decisions for individual countries. Every country should be judged by its own achievements and merits. This view, indeed, is also reflected in NATO's study, which is now completed. Thus, there is no difference between Hungarian intentions and NATO's readiness. [end recording]

The NATO deputy secretary general pointed out: The passage of the document means that all 16 member states of the organization had come to agreement on the basic issues of enlargement.

[Begin von Moltke recording, in German fading into Hungarian translation] The enlargement is a process in which we studied why admitting new members is necessary. We will only decide later which countries can become members and when. [end recording]

Kovacs on NATO Membership, Nuclear Weapons

LD1310121095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Hungarian position on accepting the stationing of nuclear weapons on the country's territory has not crystallized yet. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs has told Edit Fekete why not:

[Begin recording] [Fekete] A few days ago, the Czech Republic and Poland announced that they were ready to accept the stationing of nuclear weapons on their territory. Is there an official Hungarian position on this?

[Kovacs] [passage omitted: a popular referendum on NATO membership would be premature]

[Fekete] Must it be accepted that admission to NATO may mean that Hungary might have nuclear weapons stationed on its territory?

[Kovacs] This will be decided during negotiations between Hungary and NATO. The NATO study on expansion did not set the stationing of nuclear weapons, the stationing of nuclear weapons in peacetime, as a condition for admission. [passage omitted]

We must remember that there are NATO countries, members enjoying all rights within NATO, which do not allow the stationing of nuclear weapons and foreign troops on their territory in peacetime—Denmark, for example—and the others facilitate this as a normal thing. In other words, even now there is no uniform NATO practice with regard to this.

[Fekete] In other words, this issue cannot differentiate between Hungary. on the one hand, and the Czech Republic and Poland, on the other.

[Kovacs] Statements about what we would or would not do if we were NATO members are at this stage purely academic. We are not yet NATO members and at this stage we are happy to concentrate on formulating the way in which we wish to join NATO. [end recording]

Socialist Leader Criticizes Bokros Package

LD1310090995 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In accordance with the decision of the October 1994 Congress of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party], the body's working groups will hold

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sessions in November. The newly published discussion material, which will be put on the economic and social policy working group's agenda, has been debated at a series of open forums chaired by Laszlo Mate, deputy chairman of the HSP.

[Unidentified correspondent] Summing up what he heard at the county forums, Laszlo Mate said that at these meetings, everybody recognized the necessity of the Bokros package [name for the government's economic and social welfare austerity program named after Finance Minister Lajos Bokros]. However, he said that social policy-related measures, such as the GYEV, the GYES [social welfare support schemes for mothers with small children which the Bokros package aims at curbing], and the introduction of the education fee has caused a great storm.

[Begin Mate recording] It seems that the budget revenues they have generated have been far too small to compensate for the loss of prestige which the party and the government has suffered as a result. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Correspondent] At one of the forums, the HSP was accused of not having prepared itself for victory at the general elections in 1994.

[Begin Mate recording] In 1990, the budget envisaged an annual interest payment obligation of 40... [changes thought] or 56 billion forints. In 1994, this figure was over 400 billion. It is a burden for which no one can be prepared. There is still panic in the financial world, even this minute, about whether or not the entire Hungarian economy will be able to hold together. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mate said the government is beginning to resemble an orchestra which has too many soloists and a weak conductor.

[Begin Mate recording] The first violinist keeps announcing that only he can play and everybody else should just forget why they are there. One of these days, he should be asked to sit at the drum for two weeks.

The finance minister says that he is the only who can do the job well. He should look at the situation developing at the Labor Ministry or the health service. I do not believe it is his job to think on behalf of other ministries. I think in this respect, he needs self-control. [end recording]

Continuing Conflicts in MSZP, Government Viewed

AU1310104095 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Oct 95 p 3

[Unattributed editorial: "The Responsibility"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a recent interview, Prime Minister Gyula Horn has firmly stated that, in his view, the coalition debate did not hinder the government's activity. In fact, the period of this debate was also the most efficient period of governing, and he gave a long list of proof.

The government's performance might seem impressive—especially looking at it from the inside—but it is likely that the coalition debate took away time and energy from all those who were part of it. As governing is a time and energy consuming process, it is difficult to imagine that it would not be felt at the peaks of politics if the partners keep hurling heavyweight arguments at each other. It seems even more likely that the other debate, which has become stronger in the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] leadership and in its influential groups—precisely at the time when the coalition dispute seemed to be dying down. The wrangle around the appointment of Sandor Nagy [chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions] and especially the debate surrounding the resignation of [Labor Minister] Mrs. Magda Kovacs Kosa indicate phenomena which point way beyond the interest conflicts between the various tendencies of a broad-based social democratic party. The two issues' proximity in time is no accident: The MSZP's leadership again and again has to face the contradiction that a party, which achieved a resounding success with a left-wing program, is managing a restrictive package, which makes it necessary to put the left-wing values on ice. Opinions are divided even in the MSZP on some elements of the package. While we cannot really see signs that they would like to back off from the stabilization package—they support most measures—Socialist leaders are discovering an increasing number of cuckoo eggs in it. I am talking about the measures with minimal economic return is minimal and with a maximum power to drive away the masses.

The essence of the Sandor Nagy case is that the MSZP could no longer support the trade union leader; in the Mrs. Kosa case, the minister could no longer face being present in the MSZP-led government from November. The labor minister has remained faithful to the Socialists but made it clear what she cannot do anymore and why. In her view, the cabinet cannot govern in an optimal way, which is linked to the excessive power of [Finance Minister] Lajos Bokros, and to the fact that the Finance Ministry—which is a ministry more

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equal than the others, to use an Orwellian phrase—is able to make the other ministries face ready situations. (The other, structural problem which almost led to the breakup of the coalition a few weeks ago, seems to be disappearing fast....) Although Mrs. Kosa did not say this but it could be a logical extension to this line of thought, the prime minister is responsible for the situation that has emerged. The fact that members of the MSZP parliamentary group expressed solidarity with Mrs. Kosa does not only mean that they understand her arguments; it is also the most open expression so far of the intensified critical tone against Horn.

The debate is growing and will probably continue to tie down the government while the budget should be completed by the end of November. (In the meantime, the MSZP is also to hold a congress in the same month.) However, while the debate is getting more intense, Horn's position is getting weaker, and he can mainly blame himself for this. The latest example of many: If it is not necessary to insist on the anticonstitutional concept of sick leave on 11 October (as we have learned from the Finance Ministry's administrative state secretary) then why was it necessary to defend it so stubbornly last Thrursday [5 October].

In the past, Horn was said to give his best performance in crises. We now have plenty crises.

We will now find out.

Commentary Views Disunity of Opposition Parties

AU1210154695 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Oct 95 p 7

[Commentary by Balazs Stepan: "Stunt Man Taking Leading Role"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] executive committee's weekend session, Chairman Gyorgy Giczy said with disappointment that again it was not possible to establish unity among the national forces to celebrate the October Revolution jointly. For this reason, his party will commemorate 1956 on its own in Hodmezovasarhely [eastern Hungary].

As every year, it has again been proven that wrangling surrounding the October commemorations and the establishment of apparently provisional associations tell more about the parties' alliance plans than any number of statements of intent. Originally, the KDNP wanted the four opposition parties, together with the POFOSZ [Association of Political Prisoners], to jointly commemorate the revolution. At the preliminary talks, first the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [FIDESZ-MPP] rejected the idea, and then the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] also withdrew. The FIDESZ-MPP did not accept that the demonstration of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] should be the framework of the celebration. On the other hand, the KDNP rejected the idea that three opposition parties without the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] should celebrate together. According to Giczy, through this they would have confirmed that the Civic Alliance exists and attests to three-party opposition cooperation.

Why is this a problem? Because support for the Civic Alliance would weaken the position of the National Alliance for Hungary Association [NSZ], the other opposition cooperation initiative. It is true that the KDNP has not clearly decided to support this, either, but it seems that this is more attractive for the party. The MDF camp took a similarly ambiguous stance between the two alliances: Gyorgy Schamschula and Peter Balaton, deputy chairman of the MDF's national committee, is a founding member of the NSZ, but the MDF's leadership supports the Civic Alliance [PSZ]. Although the MDF, the FIDESZ-MPP, and the KDNP held discussions on the future of the PSZ and on the possibilities of opposition cooperation on 10 October, the cautious reports on the discussions suggest that the partners could not have got much further than repeatedly expressing their intention to cooperate. For example, the statement of intent drawn up by Ivan Szabo [MDF] was not even mentioned. The fate of the alliance will be decided at the November national committee session of the three parties.

The MDF's and KDNP's perplexity seems to confirm Bela Pokol's theory. According to this, as regards the party structure, it is incorrect to talk about the left and right wing in Hungary today because the dividing line is drawn between the national and the liberal camps. Or even if it is not drawn there, an increasing number of opposition politicians would like to place it there. Many recent events show this—including the wrangle about the national day and the NSZ's unfurling of the flag.

From among the founders of the National Alliance, [FKGP Chairman] Jozsef Torgyan and Gyorgy Schamscula both explained that, although the alliance is meant to link the national wings of the FKGP, KDNP, and MDF, they do not exclude nationally committed followers of the right or left wing from the alliance, either. Schamschula would even welcome the FIDESZ-MPP in the alliance because, as he has said, "although it is a liberal party that fundamentally deviates from the Christian-conservative values, we have a very serious linking point: Both of us are trying to servenational interests." This reasoning is confusing because Schamschula would not exclude national liberalism from the

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alliance but he is at odds with his party's national liberals.

The MDF's national committee also applied the logic of the assumed national and liberal (formerly: populist and urban) contrast in its last weeks' deliberations and, accordingly, it brought contradictory decisions which are difficult to comprehend. [MDF Chairman] Lajos Fur voted for an alliance in which the opposition parties have equal rank, and firmly stated that the alliance of the MDF, KDNP, and FIDESZ-MPP—namely the PSZ—is open to the other opposition parties. At the same time, the national committee warned Peter Balaton that the MDF's leaders can only participate "in the work of other, political type organizations" with their party's permission.

The traditional populist-urban conflict—nowadays a stuntman, or at least a minor actor—inevitably gets into the focus of political thinking, into a leading role, and arouses real suspicion and even antagonism. The MDF's and KDNP's uncertainty and indecisiveness might precisely be the result of the fact that neither parties can accurately comprehend the essence of the conflict but they are trying to adjust themselves to the way of thinking demanded by this hard-to-define conflict. Without this, they would not even be able to communicate with those who bring their decisions in accordance with this way of thinking and also force their logic on other actors of politics. This has resulted in such confusion that the parties that otherwise sympathize with each other cannot even agree on who to celebrate the anniversary of the October revolution with.

KDNP Calls For More Impartial TV Programs

LD0910210995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 9 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The leaders of both the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] and Hungarian Television consider it important to adopt the law on radio and television as soon as possible. However, the Christian Democrats do not find the current bill suitable. After their parliamentary group meeting, at which TV leaders were guests, they held a press briefing. Levente Suekosd reports.

[Suekosd] The TV leaders and the KDNP deputies tried to express their views in a gentlemanly manner on the TV's current operation, the impartiality of political programs, and the creation of balance, it was said at the press briefing from which TV Chairman Adam Horvath was absent because he did not wish to appear on his own program. Therefore he asked Laszlo Kasza, editor in chief of political programs, and Peter Leipold, deputy editor in chief of "Newsreel," to answer journalists' questions. [passage omitted]

Although they [the TV leaders] mainly agreed with the KDNP deputies that they must be impartial, independent from the power of the time, and that different political views must be broadcast in balance, this at the moment is only a wish. According to the TV leaders, they have been endeavoring this—for example, the balance could be kept in the "Newsreel" until now, but the lack of money poses a barrier to possibilities, Leipold said.

However, KDNP Chairman Gyorgy Giczy and parliamentary group leader Tamas Isepy want better results and would like to see even more impartial political programs on TV that are independent of the government and strive for balance. They accepted TV Chairman Adam Horvath's request not to presume intentional bad will on the side of program makers, and to signal any mistakes they notice immediately. [passage omitted]

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Izetbegovic Views Cease-Fire, Peace Prospects

Optimistic About Cease-Fire

AU1210203595 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1700 GMT 12 Oct 95

[Report by Konstanze Ripper including interview with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic in Vienna on 12 October—recorded; Izetbegovic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ripper] The Bosnian peace talks will be long and difficult, and after that comes the costly reconstruction. Austria has agreed to provide assistance. But the Bosnians could also use support at diplomatic level, especially when it comes to dividing the recently reconquered territories between the allied Muslims and Croats. But the Muslims have begun to be afraid of being crushed between a Greater Serbia and a Greater Croatia. Austria's good relations with the Croatians could induce President Tudjman to exercise restraint; after all, Croatia wants closer links with Western institutions. President Izetbegovic is now seeking strong partners who will engage themselves for the sake of a fair solution from their point of view. The Serb attempt to recapture Sanski Most must be stopped immediately, said Izetbegovic, or else the cease-fire could be jeopardized. In any case, the Bosnian side, down to the very last commandant, is adhering to all the agreements that had been reached.

[Izetbegovic] Of course we have full control over all our troops. They all respect the cease-fire. But naturally, we have to defend ourselves when attacked.

[Ripper] Is this cease-fire a short-term one like all the others that Bosnia has already seen, or is it a breakthrough this time?

[Izetbegovic] President Klestil asked me the same question. I told him I am optimistic that this cease-fire will bring peace.

[Ripper] When?

[Izetbegovic] At the end of this year, maybe.

Warns Serbs To Stop Attacks

AU1210185395 Paris AFP in English 1828 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Oct 12 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic warned Thursday that the fledgling cease-fire in his country could evaporate if the Serbs continued attempts to retake a strategic northwestern town.

"If the Serbs continue their offensive to retake Sanski Most we will defend ourselves and recapture any lost ground," Izetbegovic warned during a brief visit here.

Allied Moslem and Croatian forces claimed Wednesday to have taken the town, which is east of the Serb stronghold Banja Luka. Each side accused the other of cease-fire breaches Thursday, the first day of the countrywide cease-fire.

However, the Bosnian president, speaking after a meeting with his Austrian counterpart Thomas Klestil, said he was hoping for lasting peace by the end of the year.

Izetbegovic's visit is linked to Klestil's meeting next Thursday with US President Bill Clinton at the White House, which is expected to focus on recent developments in the Balkans and the reconstruction of the former Yugoslavia after four years of war.

Izetbegovic was due to meet U.S. Ambassador Swanee Hunt at a dinner hosted by Klestil later Thursday.

Klestil, Izetbegovic Discuss B-H Reconstruction

AU1210213995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Austrian and Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] Presidents Klestil and Izetbegovic held talks behind closed doors in the presidential palace in Vienna this afternoon. President Izetbegovic was accompanied by Presidency member Stjepan Kljuic and Ambassador to Austria Husein Zivalj, a B-H PRESS correspondent from Vienna reports.

As was said at a news conference after the talks, President Izetbegovic informed President Klestil about the cease-fire that came into effect and about the current development of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Afterward they discussed the forthcoming visit of the Austrian president to the United States.

The Austrian president advocated that the views of the legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities, especially regarding the country's future and its functioning, should receive the biggest possible support of the European countries and the United States. Klestil promised reconstruction aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Austria will participate in a joint project of reconstruction and for historic as well as cultural reasons Vienna will rebuild certain buildings, especially those from the art nouveau era, with its own funds.

President Izetbegovic thanked the Austrian Government and the Austrian people for everything that they have done for Bosnia-Herzegovina so far and invited Austrian President Klestil to visit Sarajevo, which the latter accepted gladly.

The talks will continue tonight during a working dinner that the Austrian president is hosting in honor of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation and which will be

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attended by numerous guests, among them Alois Mock, Simon Wiesenthal, and U.S. Ambassador to Austria Swanee Hunt.

Silajdzic Appraises Peace Prospects, Cease-Fire

Views Peace as 'Closer'

AU1210152795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic are heading Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation at the meeting with EU officials that is taking place in Brussels. The talks will touch upon future relations and the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On the eve of today's meeting, Prime Minister Silajdzic said the following: Bosnia is coming closer to peace. I am less of a pessimist than I used to be. There is a good reason to believe that we are coming closer to peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Silajdzic said, as BHPRESS reports.

Assesses Cease-Fire Prospects

LD1210212295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has returned to our country from his successful visit to Moscow, Warsaw, Tunisia, and Brussels. Here is what he said about the latest cease-fire agreement in a special statement for Bosnia-Hercegovina TV:

[Beign Silajdzic recording] I will tell you very briefly about the results of my tour. In Russia, an integral and sovereign Bosnia was given support, as usual; the gas issue was also resolved, as you know. In Prague we thwarted the attempt by Serbia and Montenegro to join the Central European Initiative. In Tunisia our hosts, in addition to giving us their political support, promised us some quantities of cement and phosphates—something they produce.

With regard to today's meeting in Brussels with the European Union, both sides were represented by top-level delegations. I was pleased to hear that after being praised by the World Bank, we were also praised by the European Union, whose representatives said today that, given the circumstances under which we were working, we have achieved results above expectations in the domain of economic measures and fiscal policy.

Today we insisted on the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We insisted on an integral package that would include resolution of our debts, our membership of the World Bank, of the IMF, humanitarian issues, the issue of the return of refugees, the issue of reconstruction and reform. With regard to the World Bank, our delegation had around 30 meetings in Washington. We shall speak about that some other time. We have achieved very good results. With regard to the IMF membership, we hope to join in a few months' time; we are working on a loan to bridge our debts.

As to the constitutional principles, the European Union promised help and said it would itself work out a draft of our constitutional principles. With regard to the next elections, we insisted that those who cannot return to the country, that they should be able to vote where they are for the constituency where they had lived before they were evicted. We are still discussing this issue, but we insisted on these elections being direct, not indirect. These talks have not yet been finalized, there is much more work to be done.

You asked me why I was an optimist when it comes to the cease-fire and peace. This is because the Serb terrorists in Bosnia can now see clearly that the attempt at creating a greater Serbia to the detriment of Bosnia and Croatia has failed, that the Serbs in Serbia proper are not going to bring into question their country because of unrealistic plans drawn up by several people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and because the international community has decided to resolve this problem. But, primarily, because we are now capable of defending ourselves, that we have our armed forces that are able to defend Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

'Greater Serbia' Dream Ended

AU1210134695 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 12 Oct 95

[Report by Ernst Starnke from Brussels]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] As of today, a cease-fire is in force in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is true that there is still sporadic fighting, but the United Nations says that the cease-fire has largely been observed. Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic was in Brussels today, where he has just held a joint news conference with EU mediator Carl Bildt. Ernst Starnke, what did they say at this news conference?

[Starnke] Haris Silajdzic, the head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, said that he was less pessimistic than several days ago and he was perhaps even optimistic. EU negotiator Carl Bildt said at the news conference, which ended a few minutes ago, that the fact that on this first postwar day a seven-man delegation had traveled from Sarajevo to Brussels was a symbol that could be called historic.

Silajdzic met with EU Commission President Jacques Santer and Foreign Policy Commissioner van den Broek

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to discuss the circumstances of the forthcoming peace negotiations and problems of future reconstruction.

In this house, Silajdzic said after the talks, we have encountered a lot of good will. He had been promised help in drafting a democratic constitution for his country. He said he was seeking free, secret, and democratic elections as soon as possible, and would like to invite foreign election observers. The repatriation of refugees was another priority goal and in this respect, too, the EU could be of assistance, because, he said verbatim, his fellow countrymen living in Brussels, Berlin, or Switzerland should also be allowed to take part in these elections.

He welcomed the fact that the EU Commission will send a delegation to Sarajevo next week to familiarize itself with all the problems in situ. Establishing real democracy, which had never existed in his country, was a test for the future and could prevent future conflicts. Now, Silajdzic said, there were finally prospects for the whole region again and it was particularly important that this also held true for the Serbs. The reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina would have to be discussed at an international news conference very soon.

He said that he was aware that his country's huge debt problem would not be easy to solve. Moreover, humanitarian aid would have to continue over a longer period. His country, Bosnia-Herzegovina, would have to be involved in all international structures and institutions and was also seeking full membership of the EU, because it formed part of Europe.

He said he was also optimistic because Belgrade had obviously realized now that the dream of a greater Serbian empire had ended. Even though there was only a cease-fire and not a peace settlement, he believed in such a peace agreement and he added that his country's current situation was more stable because it had armed forces that could defend it.

The former Swedish prime minister, Carl Bildt, was less optimistic at the joint news conference with Haris Silajdzic. The EU commissioner for former Yugoslavia said the ship had not yet arrived at port and the absence of war was still not peace. However, Bildt and Silajdzic were in agreement that war crimes should be investigated and those responsible for them should be prosecuted.

Silajdzic Views Postwar Election Regulations

AU1310121395 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 13 Oct 95 p 10

[Report by Daniel Riegger on visit to FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU office by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic: "No New Walls"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a visit to the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU office, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic strongly rejected criticism of the Bosnian Government's conduct over the past few days. He does not accept the accusation that the Sarajevo government delayed the cease-fire so as to give its own army time to advance further. It was the Bosnian Government that accepted the international Contact Group's peace plan months ago, while it was the Serb side's rejection that caused it to fail, he says. It seems that the world wants to see Bosnia in the role of victim; now that the Bosniaks are achieving military success, it is turning away, the prime minister says. Silajdzic sees several factors as being responsible for the change in the Bosnian war toward the chance for peace that is now emerging. He mentions the intervention of the United States, which did not only issue verbal threats, but has been prepared to back diplomatic solutions by air strikes. The prime minister sees another reason in the change in the French presidency. He welcomes the UN's blue helmets being replaced by NATO troops and also thinks that it is a good thing that Germany will probably be taking part. Nor does Silajdzic have any objections to German ground troops in Bosnia; on the contrary, he considers the historical arguments outdated and wrong. Yet, he finds it very difficult to see Russian soldiers taking part in the peace troops; but they could be used for administrative tasks, he said.

Silajdzic considers the principles for a peace process that the representatives of Bosnia, Croatia, and rump Yugoslavia agreed in New York at the end of September as realistic. He regards free elections in all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a priority. "Free and direct elections by secret ballot are essential." According to the Bosnian head of government, the elections will help people make a new start in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina. The citizens should go to the polls in the towns and villages where they come from. "Belgrade is hoping that this will be the beginning of Bosnia-Herzegovina falling apart," the Bosnian head of government thinks, "yet, on the contrary, this could lead to the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Silajdzic considers the principle of territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its existing borders, with 49 percent for the Bosnian Serb part and 51 percent for the Bosnian-Croat [as published] Federation, which was

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also agreed in New York and laid down in the Bosnian Contact Group's old peace plan, a good starting point for negotiations. "That is a principle to stop the war."

Things could prove more difficult over the agreed joint institutions of the Serb and the Bosnian-Croat parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with regard to the presidency or joint government, Silajdzic says. Of course, sharing the same table with former enemies in a new government will not be easy. Silajdzic rules out that Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic could be a partner to this. War criminals, no matter on which side, must be called to account. This will be an important test for the credibility of the new Bosnia-Herzegovina. This could be done by a special international court of justice, which could have its headquarters in Sarajevo, or at the already existing UN tribunal in The Hague. He says that in the elections new political leaders could be elected. "But, of course, you cannot change the entire political leadership so quickly."

Asked about the difficult Bosnian-Croatian relationship—the allies have repeatedly fired at each other during the three-year war—Silajdzic says: "The relationship could be better, but I am not afraid of the greater Croatian idea."

And what about Sarajevo? What will become of the suffering city in the new state? Silajdzic leaves no doubt: "We do not want to build another Berlin Wall. Sarajevo will be the only and undivided capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina." The Serb, Muslim, and Bosnian [as published] inhabitants who have fled should return. This will be one of the most complicated tasks: "It will probably only be possible with international supervision over a transitional period." The Bosnian prime minister hopes for Western help in reconstructing the new Bosnia-Herzegovina. "The civilized world must create the conditions for the civilized return of those expelled and refugees; otherwise the genocide is legitimized."

Silajdzic very determinedly emphasizes Bosnia's role as a model for Europe and the rest of the world. If the international community accepts border changes, conquests, and ethnic cleansing "then we will soon have the big war in Europe." The principles of peaceful religious and ethnic coexistence must be realized in Bosnia-Herzegovina vicariously f. : Europe.

Commentary: U.S. Abandoning Multiethnic Concept

AU1310084595 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (Europe Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 5-12 Oct 95 p 2

[Commentary by Gojko Beric: "Billy's Lasso for Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We are all tired of this war. As for the powder keg, it is still here and always will be. There is no shortage of cannon fodder, either, since the more dead there are, the more warriors there are. People are wondering when the last shot will be fired, but not even Richard Holbrooke knows that, even though Clinton must have given him a deadline by which this torment must stop. Words to describe this three-and-a-half-year war have also been exhausted. The millstones have nothing to grind any more, since there are no more people whom misfortune has not taken by the hand in one way or another. Those who have been killed or humiliated have been driven to the depths of resignation. [sentence as published] Daily survival has become the standard of all things, for both those who have been suffering the siege of Sarajevo and those who are suffering exile abroad.

It seems that no one, except for the legal experts from the Clinton administration, has a vision of this country. Only the Americans know what they really want: To bury everything that has happened in sand and pat it down firmly with their feet. This is supposed to be the new Bosnia. However, what about the Bosnia that used to exist? Someone should answer this, since this war is neither an earthquake nor a traffic accident. However, it seems that fewer and fewer people are insisting that someone does answer it. It seems that everyone is quite content with his own backyard, as long as no one touches it. No one can say that the consciousness of the joint, Bosnian identity has vanished so easily. Or was this consciousness so fragile and ephemeral?

But America is no longer interested in this. It is not at all embarrassed about doing nothing when the thunder of Serb artillery started over Sarajevo. Washington supported a multiethnic Bosnia for a long time, but later turned its back on the concept. In that it is totally unimportant whether America did this with good intentions, out of ignorance because it became irritated with the Balkans, or because of Clinton's domestic needs. Bill has chosen the lasso for Bosnia. America is trying quickly to write a new history for Bosnia. It cannot be said that it has given up on all its principles in doing so. It has expressed the most persistence on the most sensitive issue, that of borders, which is the reason Milosevic started the war. America firmly holds the position that Bosnia-Herzegovina must remain within

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its internationally recognized borders. However, it does not care too much how long that will last or how.

Nevertheless, we should be grateful for that. But if it had wanted to, it could have done much more for Bosnia. The principle of inviolability of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, which set out the borders of the Yugoslav republics] borders has firm U.S. support. However, if other principles had been observed in good time, the tragedy might have been prevented. Various institutions of the international community are charged with observing the implementation of the universally accepted principles, the principle of legality and legitimacy being one of the most important. This principle was violated in Bosnia-Herzegovina in front of everybody's eyes the moment the Serbs and Croats declared their parastates. The fact that they have not been not recognized does not change the essence of things. The fact that Karadzic and Boban [who set up Herzeg-Bosnia as Croatian parastate in Herzegovina] on the one hand and President Izetbegovic on the other were treated almost equally was proof that the international peace mediators were in fact ignoring the results of the multiparty elections in Bosnia.

In voting for ethnic parties, the majority of Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats did not vote for the disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and especially not for war. Nothing of this kind was contained in the policies of the Party of Democratic Action, the Serb Democratic Party, or the Croatian Democratic Community. There was no talk about any kind of ethnic division. The voters voted for a unitary parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it soon turned out that they were cheated. The violent behavior of the Serb Democratic Party marked the beginning of the constant manufacture of ethnic hatred and when Karadzic threatened from the speaker's rostrum in the Assembly to exterminate the Muslims, it was clear that the Assembly building at Marijin Dvor [in Sarajevo] was to him only a temporary residence.

The "Serb Republic" [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] was soon proclaimed and Karadzic "escorted" the representatives of his party into a new, purely Serb assembly. With this a Latin American-type coup d'etat was carried out in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly. Political banditry replaced democracy, while democracy changed into political guerrilla warfare. Though he had no legitimacy, after that Karadzic did whatever he fancied. He blackmailed the international community by organizing fake referendums. His representatives, whom a Banja Luka professor, a leftist, calls "a bunch of stubborn men, who express themselves through extreme nationalism and do not know anything," were merely a voting machine used to reject peace plans.

These people threatened the entire world, particularly America, until NATO beat them. Now their leader, Radovan Karadzic, a block of moral emptiness, modestly states: "We are turning to America and we trust it." When he was hugging the Russians in Pale in February last year, America was despised. Now he would give anything for a handshake with Clinton. Karadzic is trying to save his hide in any way possible. Anything is better than being put on a train to the Hague.

FRY, UK Legislators on Adherence of Truce

LD1210205295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2024 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Oct 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav and British Parliament officials agreed on Thursday [12 October] that it was of the greatest importance that the current ceasefire in Bosnia be strictly respected.

Member of the Yugoslav Parliament Foreign Policy Committee Goran Percevic and Chairman of the British Parliament Foreign Policy Committee David Howell discussed also the resumption and promotion of bilateral relations.

The lifting of international sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) and the establishment of peace would lead to the resumption of all forms of bilateral cooperation, it was heard during the talk.

Howell said that the establishment of peace must bring a full lifting of the anti-Yugoslav sanctions, and was optimistic about the chances of success of the peace process.

Percevic, who is also vice president of Serbia's ruling Socialist Party, said that talks about rebuilding former Yugoslavia were conducive to the creation of a more favourable climate for bringing the peace process to a successful conclusion.

Percevic informed Howell that the Yugoslav parliament would soon set up a Yugoslav-British parliamentary group, on the lines of that already formed by the British Parliament.

Iranian Delegation Visits Bihac, Offers Aid

AU0910204295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Irfan (?Dzolad), president of Una-Sana Canton, and Mesut (?Tarikovic), head of the local government, today received a high-ranking delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, led by Ayatollah

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(Ahemti Dzeneti). The delegation also included the representatives of the Red Crescent humanitarian agencies from that country.

They discussed the current military-political situation in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially the normalization of life and the return of refugees to the newly liberated areas and municipalities. They agreed that the Republic of Iran, within its help to Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially to Una-Sana Canton, will open its office in Bihac with the purpose of offering humanitarian aid in particular and all other forms of cooperation.

UN Goradze-Bound Aid Delayed by Land Mines

AU1210173295 Paris AFP in English 1654 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 12 (AFP)—A UN aid convoy bound for the eastern Moslem enclave of Gorazde was blocked on the road east of Sarajevo Thursday as French UN troops cleared a path through a minefield, UNPROFOR said.

The convoy was held up on the newly opened road to Gorazde. UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Pierre Briere said the convoy was able to continue its journey following the demining operation.

The road had been closed since April 1992 when rebel Serbs took up arms against the Moslem-dominated central government in Sarajevo after Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence from Yugoslavia.

MBO Leader Says U.S. Rewards Murderers

AU1310112895 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (Europe Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 5-12 Oct 95 p 6

[Interview with Adil Zulfikarpasic, chairman of the Muslim Bosniak Organization, MBO, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "We Must Not Reward Murderers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [OSLOBODJENJE] You are known for your stubborn support of a unitary and single Bosnia-Herzegovina. Has the New York tripartite agreement encouraged you in this respect?

[Zulfikarpasic] Since I wholeheartedly support a unitary and sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Geneva and New York agreements did not encourage me; on the contrary, they worried me, since it is clear that there is the wish hastily to seal the fate of Bosnia at an unusually rapid tempo. People are constantly being told that the difficulties are great and the problems insurmountable, but that no one is sparing any efforts or victims to bring the Bosnian drama to an end.

If we take a sober and realistic look at the matter, we can clearly see two aspects of the problem. First, Clinton's administration wants to win some points for the next election. The U.S. public considers Clinton the weakest president in the last 50 years. Indecisive and partial, he goes from one defeat to the next, both in domestic and foreign policy and economics. He has lost the majority in the Senate and Congress and his popularity has fallen below Carter's historical low. He believes that his chances in the elections will improve if he solves the Bosnian problem and achieves peace. He is not at all concerned about whether Bosnia gets a just peace and a genuine chance; he only wants to show the U.S. population that it was he who solved the Bosnian problem.

Second, both the Serb and Croatian sides see in these agreements an historic chance to create a "greater Serbia" or a "greater Croatia" by dividing Bosnia. They have difficulties hiding their joy and triumph, especially the chetniks, who have now been recognized as a legitimate state with a constitution passed by murderers.

Following the Geneva principles, the New York agreement militates toward destroying Bosnia-Herzegovina. It enables Karadzic's chetniks to veto the work of all official authorities: the parliament, the presidency, the constitutional court, and the rest. After Bosnia has been destroyed as a unitary state, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the "Serb Republic" [Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] will continue to exist as two separate states and after a certain time they will merge with Croatia and Serbia respectively, since the agreement does not contain any guarantee or legal mechanism to prevent this.

Most worrying of all is, however, that our representatives are fervently and hastily participating in the partition of Bosnia. I do not want to discuss earlier mistakes and omissions made by our legal representatives by signing dozens of agreements, proposals, and plans about the partition of Bosnia, in Lisbon, Washington, and Geneva, satisfying the wishes of everyone who wanted this from poor Bosnia (let us put aside, for example, the fact that an agreement between the [Bosnian] Krajina and Izetbegovic was signed in Geneva on 16 September 1993, according to which the "Serb" part of Bosnia—70 percent of the territory at that time—could merge with Serbia, i.e. Yugoslavia, after two years); let us forget all the mistakes and try to justify them by saying that they were signed at gunpoint. But today, when the "greater Serbia" plans have failed, when we have halted and even forced the chetnik hordes to retreat, when mass graves in the Krajina are being excavated, and when those around Prijedor, Srebrenica, and Bratunac are yet to be discovered, let us not reward the

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murderers by giving them our homes and the towns that they took away from us.

Our representatives are here to defend the interests of our people by all possible means; they should enable them to return home freely, to reestablish their households, and to live according to human and democratic laws in the country of their fathers.

Bosnia is the homeland of all its sons. There are no Serb, Muslim, or Croatian territories in it. It has been and it must remain a country for the peaceful and dignified coexistence of all of us. You cannot exclude Foca, Gorazde, Visegrad, Cajnice, Rogatica, Bratunac, Zvornik, Srebrenica, Zepa, Prijedor, Jajce, Stolac, or Mostar from Bosnia, because all of these and other towns are inalienable parts of it. Nobody is entitled or allowed to make agreements that prevent every single refugee from returning to his home. The negotiations on Bosnia should condemn and sentence fascist murderers, bullies, and terrorists. Negotiations in which criminals are forgiven and rewarded for their crimes should not be allowed. We can turn these negotiations into a court trial for the fascist war criminals. This should be their "Misuru" and a preparation for a "Nuremberg" trial. This is not a piece of advice for our Presidency, our government, and our negotiators; this is their sacred task toward people whom they must not abandon.

[Zulfikarpasic] Military structures to guarantee the implementation of the agreement are being hastily set up by the United States and NATO, even before the contours of the agreement have appeared. This is sensible only if a just agreement is reached, which I personally do not consider possible as long as proven criminals hold Bosnian territory and employ inhuman methods of destruction. The basic conditions, which should already have been created in the negotiations, have not materialized yet, such as the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo, the supply of electricity, water, natural gas, and food, and free movement for the civilian population. As long as foreign troops and commands are in our territory, our representatives cannot forget the fulfillment of these conditions and should not take part at the negotiating table. If care is taken of the interests of Bosnia and the Bosnian people, these conditions must be fulfilled before we are able to resume negotiations.

Our politicians must stop misinforming the people. They should stop encouraging people to be optimistic about things that should actually set off alarm bells. Our representatives will be successful when they can show that the population of Bosnia is behind them, since the United States and the world will appreciate and respect the wishes of the people. Their public opinion, which also supports the wish of the Bosnian people to reach a just peace, also requires this from them. The wish to hide the truth from the people shows a bad conscience and bad intentions and those who do that will live to regret it. Support and power at the negotiating table lie in the support of the whole people and this factor must not be underestimated.

[OSLOBODJENJE] The alternative to the peace agreement is a continuation of the war. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has its trump cards for that option, too; it seems that it holds more today than ever before. Do you consider it possible that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army could embark upon a war to liberate the whole of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Zulfikarpasic] There are several possibilities and it is very dangerous to say that there are only two: a continuation of the war or an agreement, since we could be betrayed in this way. It is our natural right and duty to defend and liberate our occupied homeland. If we make use of every opportunity and arm ourselves, we shall be able to liberate our homeland and we must bear this option in mind. Our reputation is based on our success in preventing the aggressor from destroying us and on our readiness and wish to liberate our territory.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Muslim-Croatian political and military cooperation has strengthened lately, especially since the Split Agreement. How far can it go in your opinion?

[Zulfikarpasic] I do not view the cooperation between Bosnia and Croatia beyond the narrow aim of the Croatian leadership to create a "greater Croatia." I am worried by certain tendencies such as "the royal Croatian town of Jajce." I am worried that the Croats arbitrarily change names, obstruct the reintegration of Mostar, and do other similar things. These matters have to be discussed more sincerely and seriously, because they are of vital interest for both nations.

Mladic Urges Smith To Ensure Cease-Fire

AU1210221095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic, Serb Republic Army commander in chief, sent the following letter to Gen. Rupert Smith, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina:

In spite of the signed cease-fire agreement, Muslim units continued offensive operations against Serb positions and territories on several fronts today. They used weapons of various calibers to shower residential areas in the direction of Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi], Prijedor, Ljubija, Banja Luka, Trnovo, and Kalinovik. The mindless destruction of civilian targets continues, as does

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the exile of Serb civilians, many of whom are refugees from areas that were occupied earlier. In those areas, the Muslims are bringing in reinforcements and regrouping their forces. It is evident that the Muslim side is not observing any cease-fire agreement and is seriously jeopardizing the peace process by trying to provoke a large-scale conflict. I urge you to inform all UN institutions, Contact Group members, peace mediators for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and guarantors of the signed agreement about this and to use all available means to secure the cease-fire as soon as possible. If you do not take urgent and efficient steps, the sincerity of the intentions and the credibility of all the factors involved in the peace process will be questioned and you must be prepared to take the consequences, says the letter Gen. Mladic sent to Gen. Smith, UNPROFOR commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Krajisnik 'Cautious' About Cease-Fire's Success

LD1210170095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Obrenovac, 12 Oct (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the Bosnian Serb Republic's People's Assembly, today blamed the international community and the Contact Group—"which stood by in silence as the Muslims, assisted by the Croatian Army and the Rapid Reaction Force, occupied two Serb towns" for the delay in implementating the cease-fire.

Krajisnik told Radio Obrenovac [in Serbia] that from the very beginning the Serb Republic was ready to accept a cease-fire, but was also aware of the opposite side's intention to put the peace process back to the initial position.

"The question is whether we can believe the enemy, considering previous bad experiences, which is why we are cautious toward this cease-fire which, however, has more chance of succeeding than all the previous ones because the readiness of the international community, and especially the United States, is greater than ever," he stressed.

Asked which will be the Serb Republic's basic negotiating positions when the territorial division is on the agenda, Krajisnik said:

"The principle of the [territorial division of] 51-49 [percent] must be further qualified by the following principle: Two states, not one, are being set up in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which means that we must have compact territory, a wide link between the western and eastern part of the state and the border on the river Sava."

According to Krajisnik, other details—the future of the Muslim enclaves, the Serb part of Sarajevo and access to the sea—are additional elements in the division.

Commenting on the departure of Yasushi Akashi, UN special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, Krajisnik said:

"We have some objections, but nevertheless that man wanted to do more than he was objectively allowed to. We appreciate his good will and speak with respect about his attempts to contribute to cooling down the flames of war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Serbs Call For UN Enforcement of Cease-Fire

LD1210164095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the main HQ of the Bosnian Serb Republic Army, has sent a letter to Gen. Rupert Smith, the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, informing him that despite the cease-fire agreement Muslim units today continued attacking Serb positions and territory in several directions, and requested Gen. Smith to ensure that the cease-fire is observed.

"Civilian villages and territory in the direction of Novi Grad, Prijedor, Ljubija, Banja Luka, Trnovo, and Kalinovik are being pounded from weapons and artillery pieces of various calibers. The senseless destruction of civilian facilities and the expulsion of the Serb population from their homes continues. Many of these people are refugees from territories occupied earlier. Muslims are bringing in and grouping fresh forces in these areas," Gen. Mladic says.

He went on to say that the Muslim side obviously did not observe any cease-fire agreement, which brings into serious question the initiated peace process and could provoke large-scale clashes.

"You must immediately inform all UN institutions about this, the governments of the Contact Group countries, the peace mediators for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the guarantors of the cease-fire agreement, and urgently ensure the observance of the cease-fire by using all means at your disposal. Unless you take urgent and effective measures, the sincerity of the intentions and the credibility of all players involved in the peace process will be brought into question, and you should be ready to take the responsibility for the consequences that might ensue," Gen. Mladic warned at the end of his letter.

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Muslims, Croats Breach Cease-Fire on Two Fronts

LD1210142895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 12 Oct (SRNA)—Joint Muslim and Croatian army units today resumed fierce artillery and infantry attacks on the Sanski Most and Bosanska Krupa fronts. This is reported in a statement issued by the information service of the Main Staff of the [Bosnian] Serb Army.

The statement specifies that by bringing in reinforcements and resuming offensive actions in the direction of Sanski Most and Arapusi, the Muslims are breaching the cease-fire and bringing into question the two-month cease-fire agreement.

"Despite the powerful enemy force, Serb units are holding their positions and preventing a possible enemy advance on these two towns," the statement says.

Serb Radio Reports Cease-Fire Violations 12 Oct

AU1210214595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 12 October carries in its regular 30-minute newscast several reports reporting on cease-fire violations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Correspondent Slavisa Sabljic reports that "while weapons of the Serb Army were inactive and infantry observed the cease-fire agreement, the Muslims of the 5th Corps continued their new, fierce offensive on the Serb land of Podgrmec." Describing the situation on the Sanski Most-Krupa na Uni [Bosanska Krupa] front, he also says that "already in the first morning hours, Izetbegovic's fundamentalists, from their strongholds on the occupied territory of Sanski Most, launched unprecedented artillery attacks. Almost 1,500 shells, fired mostly from weapons that were borrowed for the occasion, or better yet, permanently lent by the Croatian Army, showered both Serb positions and civilian targets along the road from Prijedor to Sanski Most." His report says that "so far, we have had no information about the consequences of today's attacks, but today's rampage must have left many dead and wounded, particularly among the civilians of the villages in Podgrmec."

Quoting the "RS [Serb Republic] Army General Staff Information Service," the studio announcer says that "this morning, Muslim formations continued attacking Serb positions on the Treskavica Plateau as well as on the Konjic-Kalinovik front, but without friendly casualties." Correspondent Vesna Rudan says that "the latest cease-fire agreement has not brought peace to the northern part of the Herzegovina front, where the Muslims, from the early hours of the morning, fired from small-arms and antiaircraft weapons from a distance." She goes on to report on "Muslim Army provocations" and says that "they were also reported on the Treskavica Plateau and, in the vicinity of Konjic, on the hills of Prenje." She proceeds to report on yesterday's "fierce fighting," especially "in the area between Kobiljaca and Krbljane," and says that "strong assaults of a superior number of Muslim soldiers were supported by artillery fire" and that "Herzegovina Corps soldiers repulsed all attacks and separation line has not been changed." She goes on to describe the military situation "on the Mostar-Nevesinje front and in the vicinity of Konjic" and says that "the Muslims launched heavy attacks using antiaircraft weapons and mortars that did not subside until late last night." She says that "Seljani and Cicevo, Serb villages on the upper course of the Neretva River, were targeted by strong artillery fire, but there are no civilian casualties. The Muslims concentrated their fire on Osovac and Ravna Planina." Describing the situation on the "Trebinje-Dubrovnik front," she says that "regular Croatian units launched attacks from the Zavala area targeted the Mareva Ljut area, but without consequences."

Sarajevo correspondent Radan Skipina says that "the first day of cease-fire on the southwestern part of the Sarajevo front has been relatively quiet. All units of the Serb Republic Army are acting in accordance with the order of Radovan Karadzic, supreme commander of the Serb Republic Army, on the cessation of hostilities." His report also says that "today, Muslim units have also observed the cease-fire agreement." He says that "last night, several hours before midnight, the enemy attempted to seize Trnovo at the foot of Mt. Treskavica on the route Sarajevo-Srbinje-Serb Herzegovina. Their goal was to cut off the route and link up with units from Gorazde." He proceeds to say that "members of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, lead by the White Wolves [beli vukovi], a special-purpose unit, managed to defend both Trnovo and the road and launched a counterattack considerably improving their positions. The liberated some elevations on Mt. Treskavica: Hum, Celina, and Brstenik. After the brilliant counterattack by the White Wolves, a dozen enemy soldiers were left lying on the front. Quite a lot of their equipment and military hardware is imported." Radan Skipina goes on to say that "not even the wholehearted support of the so-called rapid reaction forces from Mt. Igman, which fired thousands of projectiles on Trnovo and Serb positions, helped the enemy."

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The studio announcer takes over to say that "apart from sporadic small arms provocations, the Croat-Muslim formations were not inactive."

Serbs: Government Forces Control Sanski Most

AU1310121495 Paris AFP in English 1138 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 13 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serb military announced Friday [13 October] that the northwestern Bosnian town of Sanski Most had fallen to a Bosnian Government offensive and that fighting in the area was continuing.

A statement from Bosnian Serb military headquarters carried by the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said: "After violent attacks on Thursday, troops of the 5th Corps (of the Bosnian Army) occupied Sanski Most and have continued since dawn on Friday artillery attacks against civilian targets deep inside Serb territory".

Serb Corps Commander Views Banja Luka Defense

AU1210220895 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 95

[Interview with Lt. Gen. Momir Talic, "commander of Serb Republic Army 1st Krajina Corps," by Milka Tosic and Dragan Stegic on 12 October; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Enemy attacks continue in the wider Manjaca region today. Lieutenant General Momir Talic, commander of the 1st Krajina Corps, comments on that.

[Talic] Yes, you are right. Detonations can be heard from the early morning hours regardless of the signed declaration or the signed cease-fire agreement. There is no cease-fire. Croat and Muslim forces continue their offensive operations mostly as planned, from Mrkonjic Grad toward Vrbas, in two directions, i.e. along the Vrbas river bed or the Vrbas canyon and via Manjaca toward Stricici. This is the area of activity of Croatian forces, while the Muslims continue offensive operations from Sanski Most toward Prijedor, down the valley of the Sana River and toward Bronzani Majdan.

Consequently, we cannot talk about cease-fire. It is not a surprise that neither the Muslims nor the Croats observe the cease-fire agreement. This is an attempt to catch our soldiers and our people off guard. Our people, our state and military leadership wanted a cease-fire, as did world powers like the United States and other countries. However, the cease-fire is not observed. I have just mentioned the focus of their combat activity. Provocations were reported on the Teslic, Kotor Varos, and Knezevo fronts, as well as on a part of the Orasje front.

[Correspondent] Still, the cease-fire agreement was signed. Personally, do you believe it could come to life?

[Talic] Personally, having learned from experience and their behavior from day one, I do not believe the cease-fire could come to life, i.e. unless the international community puts pressure on the Muslims and the Croats to stop their offensive activity and unless they are forced to observe what they signed.

[Correspondent] What about our forces? Will we respond if attacked?

[Talic] Of course. We will not sit idle, take losses, and watch them target us without doing anything. Consequently, our corps will fight as it did so far and try to break all offensives by our enemy, i.e. coalitions.

[Correspondent] After five years of war, Banja Luka, the largest town in the Serb Republic and a logistic base of the 1st Krajina Corps, was forced to defend itself.

[Talic] Banja Luka has been the goal of our enemy not only for the past five years, but for the past 50 years, since the end of World War II. Banja Luka was assaulted because it is an economic basis of the Serb Republic and we must defend Banja Luka and other towns in the 1st Krajina Corps theater of operations at all costs. We will not deviate from that. Freedom has no price! The creation of a state has no price! Soldiers, their families, and all of us together must be aware of that.

[Correspondent] Gen. Talic, does that mean that the town of Banja Luka will be crucial?

[Talic] Yes, the defense of Banja Luka as well as every other inch of our country is crucial and there will be no more deviations from that!

Serbian Unity Party Volunteers Fighting in Bosnia

LD0310235195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 3 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Borislav Pelevic, acting chairman of the Serbian Unity Party [Stranka srpskog jedinstva-SSJ], said today that the party's military formation—the Serbian volunteer guard [Srpska dobrovoljacka garda-SDG]—has achieved significant successes in the defense and liberation of western parts of the Serb republic [RS] and that the fighting for the liberation of Kljuc is underway.

He briefed a news conference about actions undertaken by the SDG on the western Krajina front and its role in the salvation of Sanski Most and Novi Grad, which both the people and the army deserted.

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Seven SDG members were killed and 27 wounded in these battles. The SDG, which is operating as a part of the RS Interior Ministry troops, inflicted heavy losses on the Muslim formations heavy losses: 300 killed and 10 captured enemy soldiers.

He also said that the SDG set up three centers for the reception of deserters who were returning to their units.

"We are resolute that Banja Luka and all that area must be defended until the last man," Pelevic said, adding that the people's morale had increased after the SDG arrival.

Talking about the SDG involvement in the Srem-Baranja region, he stressed that its units are operating within the 11th Corps of the Serb Krajina Army [Srpska vojska Krajine] and that they are stationed in all border areas, which, as he put it, has to be defended at any cost.

Talking about the current political situation, Pelevic welcomed the normalization of relations between Serbia and Macedonia, voicing hope that after the peace was reached, full relations between Serbia and Macedonia will be established.

Belgrade Accuses Muslims of Serb Civilian Deaths

LD0510191295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 5 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 5—Bosnian Muslims have killed more than 200 Serb civilians in the area of Gorazde (Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia) in the 1992-94 period, TANJUG learned in the Yugoslav Government's war crimes committee.

Based on statements by eyewitnesses and witnesses, the committee compiled a detailed document which contains the names of the victims, the dates of the executions, the manner of the crimes and the names of the executors.

The document will be sent to The Hague-based international war crimes tribunal for the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

According to the document, the executions were carried out in places where the Serbs were found or taken—at home, in the street, or in prison and in camps.

All these crimes were carried out by the Muslim war presidency of Gorazde headed from May 1992-February 1993 by Dzafo Fendic, who is now the Muslim government's ambassador in Austria.

The crimes against the Serbs could also have been carried out by Muslim civilians, even children, without opposition by anyone, the document said.

According to the 1991 census, there were 9,844 Serbs in the region of Gorazde, while today there are less than one hundred. Of the 33 villages solely populated by Serbs in the region of Gorazde, only a single one, Sasici, has not been set ablaze.

Based on testimonies by Serb refugees, estimates are that in Gorazde and the nearby villages about 1,500 Serb homes and apartments have been torched.

Numerous witnesses testified that in Gorazde the Muslims made systematic efforts to exterminate and destroy the Serbs living in this region—they broke into their homes, seized their property, insulted, physically and mentally tortured them, arrested them without any grounds, expelled them from their homes, took them to camps where they were tortured by hunger and murdered.

The Muslim soldiers forced Serbs to lie down on the ground on their stomachs and 'eat' dust, they drove nails through the Serbs' ears, beat them senseless, carved the crescent and star on their foreheads and SDA (Party of Democratic Action) on their backs, fed them only once a day with nettle stew mixed with hair and ground glass.

The local Muslim authorities have failed to spare from desecration and destruction Serb churches, graveyards and cultural and historic monuments.

Apart from the Serb church in Gorazde, the Muslim army in the first half of September 1992 burned to the ground the church of St. George in the village of Donja Sopotnica, built in 1446.

According to the Yugoslav Government's war crimes committee, the systemtic phsychological extermination and the numerous killings of Serb civilians in Gorazde can be explained 'only by the genocide aspirations of the Muslim government and army.'

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Serb Negotiators Reject Conditions for Talks

LD1210165395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 12 Oct (SRNA)—The information center of the Srem and Baranja region today denied a report released by the office of Hrvoje Sarinic, the head of the Croatian negotiating team, that the next meeting between Serb and Croatian delegations with representatives of the international community is to take place in Ilok on 16 October and then in Osijek.

The Serb negotiating team does not accept this; it demands a meeting with Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia and U.S. Ambassador to Zagreb Peter Galbraith, to agree on the venue for the next round of negotiations.

A statement issued by the information center says that during a meeting in Erdut on 3 October an agreement was reached that all delegations—not only one—should take part in setting the place and dates for negotiations.

"This is yet another attempt by the Croatian side to dictate the conditions and the rhythm of negotiations, something that we are never going to accept," the statement says.

UN Official Confirms Croatian Crimes in Krajina

LD1310145895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1418 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 13 (TANJUG)—Outgoing U.N. Commander of the former Sector South Brig Gen Alain Forand stated that from August 5, when the Croatian authorities took control of Krajina, until October 6, the U.N. civilian police found 128 bodies of murdered Serb civilians.

General Forand said this at his last press briefing held at the U.N. headquarters in Knin before departing from his duties of commander of Sector South, which he took over on July 8.

Foran spoke in Knin about the consequences of the Croatian aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina in which the Croatian Army occupied at the beginning of August the southern and northern parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina, expelling around 200,000 Serbs from their ancestral homes. Croats then went on to kill the remaining Serbs and systematically destroy Serb property.

General Forand's press statement made in Knin on Friday has been sent TANJUG.

Indicating that the United Nations have not yet received the required data about investigations of these crimes, General Forand stressed that 'the most disturbing trend of all is the on-going killing of serb civilians who have remained, the majority of them elderly'.

Forand recalled that the Croatian Army started by the bombardment of all main Serbian communities in the former Sector South with heavy artillery, and added that during the August offensive on that sector and the former Sector North, a total of 185,000 people were forced to leave their homes.

Estimates by U.N. agencies, place the Serb population remaining in the Krajina at around 1,500 in the former Sector South and about 2,200 in the former Sector North, Forand said.

The U.N. official said that 'under its monitoring of the humanitarian situation in former Sector South, patrols by U.N. human rights teams, military observers and civilian police have regrettably reported a disturbing trend of activity, which began immediately after the 4-5 August offensive and has continued since'.

He specified that there had been widespread killing of civilians, arson of Serb houses, looting of their property and the neglect of the mainly elderly Serb community living in isolated villages.

'A recent survey report by U.N. military observers based on visits to 389 hamlets and villages showed that of 21,744 houses observed, over 16,578 were destroyed by fire or severely damaged, Foran said.

He specified that most of these villages were formerly majority Serb communities and that from this report it is estimated that 73 percent of all property is presently un-inhabitable in the former Sector South area.

General Forand pointed out that 'there have been no observed attempts to stop the destruction and killing, and indications point to a scorched earth campaign'.

Deputy Prime Minister Views Fiscal Policy

AU1110120595 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 95 pp 16-17

[Interview with Borislav Skegro, Croatian deputy prime minister, by Miodrag Sajatovic; place and date not given: "'Economic Storm' Happened Two Years Ago"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sajatovic] As this interview goes to press it will be precisely two years since the stabilization program was launched. What is your assessment of what has been accomplished?

[Skegro] Two years is a long enough period to enable us to make assessments that are not only based on expectations or impressions. It is unrewarding to assess one's own achievements, but without any feigned modesty, the results are much better than I personally expected

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them to be when we launched the program. Some indicators are extremely good, some are poorer than the public expected, but all in all, it is a great success that at the same time represents a big step forward for the government, which will continue to implement actually the same program and its basic principles.

[Sajatovic] Were there moments in the past two years when the program was seriously endangered?

[Skegro] There were many critical moments in the implementation of the stabilization program. Typically, decisive things were happening at the beginning of its implementation, in the first month and a half. One of the key elements was the game about the exchange rate of the four fours [4,444:1], because we assumed that, at the moment of introduction of a hard currency market and internal convertibility, it would come to an overvaluation of the kuna. That was the key moment of our crushing the expectation of inflation.

The critical moment at the time was the Assembly's voting on the Law on Hard Currency Transactions. The situation was very tense when a parliamentary deputy, probably without bad intentions, demanded the reading of the law for the third time [as published]. Had we not been determined then, had we not passed the law then, the hard currency market would not have been established on 19 October 1993, and we would not have been able to fix the exchange rate at lower than 4,444 Croatian dinars for one German mark. The stabilization program would have probably succeeded, but it surely would not have advanced in the way it did.

The exchange rate of four fours was valid as of 4 October. The law that allowed the forming of the exchange rate for the first time through the market itself was put into force on 19 October. The hard currency market began to work, and then the Bank of Varazdin (here I pay tribute to its management) was the first to understand that lowering the exchange rate would pay. I think they lowered it to 4,000 Croatian dinars for one German mark. And when we were able to perceive on the Ban Jelacic Square in Zagreb that people were going from the Bank of Varazdin to the banks that did not lower the rate, and they did so several times, I knew that that part of the program had definitely succeeded. The only thing we had to do was to sit and wait for the official statistics to show, with a one month delay, what happened with prices.

[Sajatovic] If you were certain about the fall of the exchange rate of the Croatian dinar toward the German mark, why were you still announcing a rate higher than 4,444 Croatian dinars for October and November?

[Skegro] We had to be credible. To maintain on 4 October that the exchange rate would be lower than 4,444 Croatian dinars to the German mark was dangerous, because people would have called us unwise and irresponsible.

[Sajatovic] If you are completely satisfied with the implementation of the anti-inflation program, in which area did you expect more to be done?

[Skegro] I expected more to be accomplished in the privatization sector. We made a lot of effort, but the circumstances were simply unfavorable for us, despite the clearly stated unanimous political will. Certain noneconomic events, like, for instance, those many months of the parliament's nonfunctioning, took away our penetrating drive and energy. Everything turned into politics to its utmost. If circumstances had been different, today we would have had our public debt stemming from hard currency savings reduced by at least 1 billion German marks, and a considerably greater number of completely or for the most part privatized firms.

The objective circumstances in which our three major tasks were supposed to be accomplished still prevail. One is the struggle for the establishment of sovereignty in the entire state territory, the second is the complete construction of a new system and organization of the state as a democratic and market-orientated one, and the third is what all governments are supposed to do, and that is to implement economic policy in a system developed by the fine tuning of its instruments.

[Sajatovic] Before your appointment as adviser to the president of the republic, and since April 1993 as deputy prime minister, you were a scientific assistant at the Economic Institute in Zagreb. Your specialist area is econometric models. It is certain that you have had firm attitudes regarding the way in which governments are supposed to deal with state economies. After two and a half years of practice in pursuing macroeconomic policy, have your attitudes changed, or have they just expanded?

[Skegro] The basic attitudes have remained the same, but, of course, they have been considerably enriched. As a man who worked only in a scientific-research institution, I wrote what other architects of economic policy should do. Suddenly, I found myself in a position where I had an opportunity to implement what I was suggesting should be done, to somebody, which was actually myself. What surprised me was that, as far as I know, none of business people, who considered it important to anticipate what will happen after our announcement of the stabilization program in May 1993, made themselves familiar with what I had written a year

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before. In the newspaper PRIVREDNA KRETANJA I EKONOMSKA POLITIKA [Economic Trends and Economic Policy], issues 15 and 16, there is a precise explanation of how the announced stabilization program would unfold.

In 1992 and 1993 Croatia was experiencing a decline in economic activity and hyperinflation. At the time there were theories, which are generally dying out today even though there are still some remnants, that through increased supply, that is, the stimulation of production through credit expansion, supply will exceed demand, so that prices would stabilize in that way. That was a ruinous concept and as a member of the Council of the National Bank of Croatia I fought against it as much as I could. I was trying to prove that healthy production is possible only when hyperinflation is defeated.

There was great confusion regarding concepts. People mixed up inflation and hyperinflation, so they were trying to apply formulas against inflation to hyperinflation, which was fatal.

[Sajatovic] What is decisive for the implementation of one such stabilization program?

[Skegro] However brilliant a program you may have, if you do not have people to implement it, the program will not work. I am perhaps somewhat overstating it if I say that the program itself is 10 percent, while its implementation is 90 percent of the final success. We had strong political support from the president of the republic in the first place. We were sure that in the Assembly, when key issues came up, our proposals would be passed. On this occasion I would like to thank the deputies. People raised their hands in support of some of our measures even when they were not quite sure whether they were good. We had a clear state policy.

Second, we had a powerful weapon in our hands—decrees, by which we were able to react promptly. So we knew that, even if we did make a mistake, we were able to put it right the next day, so to speak. In the beginning we had a lot of decrees, because you cannot drive a car if you do not have the accelerator, the brakes and the gearshift under your control.

The third element was homogeneity and a strong desire to succeed. The spirit of friendliness was dominant. We were totally absorbed in it, and we worked even 16 hours a day. Prime Minister Valentic was grand in his ability to convincingly communicate with the public in counties, in front of business managers or trade union officials, which is required by the modern theory of economics as well. If there is trust, the program will succeed.

[Sajatovic] How do you deal with the conflicting goals of economic policy? It is obvious that particular ministries have different views. For instance, you probably disagree with the recently adopted measures for the protection of domestic farming products from competitive imported goods.

[Skegro] Any conflict between these goals is imagined. It is only a question of degree. In that regard, neither I, nor the prime minister, nor the minister of economy has the right to claim that we know the real measure of protection. I support as little protection and as great an endurance capacity as possible with those affected, so they would change themselves and become more efficient. Without a greater degree of efficiency there will be no overwhelming growth or income per capita, nor Croatia's nearing to the part of the world we tend to be part of for sure.

One does not need much imagination to draw the conclusion that by high protection you would become popular among manufacturers. As I am deputy chairman for economics, I have to protect the interests of both producers and consumers. Besides, we are not alone in this world!

When you keep that in mind, then, of course, the general rule is as little state intervention as possible, and as little administration and regulation as possible. And where you have to do that, because other manufacturers protect themselves as well, you have to know to what extent. Therefore, the question is not whether protection is necessary or not. The question is what degree of protection is necessary.

I am always for a lower degree of protection, and those who are interested in short-term effects, prefer a higher degree. The assumption is that in Croatia, as a democratic country, those conflicting interests will be reconciled through the democratic process.

[Sajatovic] The government is largely responsible for devising a legal framework for the functioning of the market economy. More than 100 such laws have been worked out. Are you satisfied with the quality and speed of their implementation?

[Skegro] The broadest public has overlooked that part of the job that the Government has done together with the Assembly. The existing legislative framework cannot be recognized at all, if compared with what it was like three or four years ago. Enormous effort has been made in that regard, starting from the Law on Commercial Associations, through completely new fiscal legislation, the laws on banks, savings banks, and so forth. I maintain that 90 percent of the new legislation is correct and already functioning. I am most satisfied with fiscal

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legislation, which could be a model for other countries in Europe.

[Sajatovic] Are you not overstating it a little bit?

[Skegro] No, I am not. We have worked it out thoroughly. We have not been limited by existing systems that came about as a result of decades-long relations between political parties in parliaments, for which reason they would have been made as a compromise. We have worked it out on its own basis, in a way the West would have worked it out today, if it had a chance. And it is already showing results. Since the stabilization program began, we have constantly reduced the rates of all possible taxes and contributions, and you have seen that we have still been collecting ever greater revenues.

[Sajatovic] Business people would say they do not perceive that....

[Skegro] I am not sure about their perceptions, but that is a matter of arithmetic anyway. They know how much they had to pay for turnover tax earlier. Let them show me a single tax this government has increased. There is not one. The culmination of tax reduction is in value added tax, where the cumulative rate of 32 percent has been reduced to 22 percent. The fiscal system has been worked out completely. What remains to be done is its implementation. Day by day the state is functioning better and better. In 1992 the budget amounted to 3 billion German marks, while this year it is 8.5 billion German marks. Of course, due to certain circumstances Croatia's aggregate fiscal commitments are above average. The defense budget will decrease in the future, and this will be used for investment and spending. Initially, I would like it to be used more for investment, rather than for spending, so it would produce a better standard of living several years from now.

[Sajatovic] But there are also laws adopted recently that are still not functioning in reality. The Law on Financial Recovery of Banks, for instance.

[Skegro] We are late with that section, but because of circumstances we have not been able to achieve more. In the first place because of the fiscal position. Talking about the financial recovery of banks is easy. We have engaged foreign consultants and inspectors, we have founded the Agency, and we have even allocated some funds from the budget....However, in the situation in which military operations such as Blitz or Storm are prepared or carried out, after which a huge demand for reconstruction in the liberated areas comes about, you have to instantly make a decision that rehabilitation should be postponed for several months. I emphasize: several months, not some distant future. The fact that rehabilitation is necessary has not been questioned.

[Sajatovic] Is it possible to accomplish reconstruction and rapid growth and to preserve stability at the same time?

[Skegro] That is not only possible, but one does not go without the other. I understand suggestions by my friends and colleagues, who think that Croatia is too stable, and that because of that overstability, which does not suit it at all, an element of growth has been sacrificed. But I am firmly convinced that this is an incorrect theory. Only after two years of stability, and with a high degree of liberalization of the domestic and foreign trade system, is one able to get some relevant indicators of success or lack of success of a firm, a sector or a branch.

Second, the pressure of foreign competition and the stability of prices eliminates what was a daily problem in hyperinflation: how to obtain money, how to prolong payment of commitments, and how to get one's own claims paid as soon as possible. People are now able to focus on what the job of managers really is: more efficient production with fewer costs, the securing of more extensive production and winning of new markets.

We could fairly easily and within quite a short period, in two or three months and just before the elections, increase the industrial production index by 10 points. However, it would be a production that would for the most part end up in stockrooms. We would thereby produce stocks that would have to be financed by somebody, and all that would end up in an endless spiral.

[Skegro] That is, in the current circumstances, where not only because of the war, but also because of the socialist heritage, the physical indicators are at the level of, say, 70 percent of the erstwhile ones, Croatia must make painful, although necessary changes, now or never, no matter how Spartan this may appear. Since we are already about to undergo economic surgery because of the system reform, we are going to make a general overhaul, rather than strive for one or two index points more.

We have closed down the coke plant in Bakar. You can work out for yourself how big that negative contribution is by using the industrial production index. We are doing it deliberately, because we know that one does not go to Europe with coke plants. How can you expect a $10,000 gross national product per capita, if you have sectors in which the turnover per employee is half of that? Croatia must not be compared with nonindustrialized countries, but should compete with the industrialized

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ones. In that respect certain production lines simply do not have a chance. In a very short time the Croatian citizen will not be willing to work for less than 4,000 or 5,000 kunas a month. He will either get that much, or will go elsewhere. For that reason it is not important to maximize tons, or meters.

There is a whole range of sectors where we have, for instance, comparative advantages, such as, for instance, intellectual services. Services do not apply only to transport or tourism. A huge amount of money is spent on the importation of software programs. Why did a multinational company come to Croatia and buy a factory there? Not for the buildings, but rather because of several hundred highly qualified engineers, who cost the company half as much as in its original country, and who work better than those in the company's original country. We are exporting brains as well, not only logs.

[Sajatovic] Finally, will the possible change of government officials change the economic plan so far?

[Skegro] No.

[Sajatovic] The question about the exchange rate of the kuna is unavoidable. We have witnessed its weakening in relation to the German mark by more than 2 percent over the past several weeks. Is there a danger of a psychological counter effect that may bring back inflation?

[Skegro] There is no danger. Two years ago we had a terribly rapid development, our economic Storm. Whether the real exchange rate is 3.6 or 3.7 nobody knows. We, for whom the German mark has permeated both the consciousness and subconsciousness, observe solely the exchange rate of the kuna for the German mark. It has been stable, almost boringly so, for almost two years.

When you look at the exchange rate of the lira or dollar, then there have been many fluctuations. The dollar rate ranged from 6 to 4.9 kunas, and now it has returned to 5.5 and then also to 5.2, and when you draw a diagram, you will see that there have been quite a lot of fluctuations. The exchange rate toward the German mark is stable. Of course, it has been established on a far more market-orientated basis than ever before.

People do not understand that the exchange rate is not an instrument of the government's economic policy. If you ask me how great the rate will be I shall tell you I do not know. If you ask me what is to be done if the rate nears 3.5 or 3.8 I shall tell you: "Nothing!" because those are normal spans within which European currencies fluctuate.

[Sajatovic] People are still worried about the data on the trade deficit.

[Skegro] They are making far-reaching conclusions, and at the same time neglecting invisible items in the balance of payments, and registered and unregistered capital inflow. If you insist, one of the basic tasks when I took up this position was to calm down nervous reactions among the architects of economic policy, caused by partial data coming in every day. Either with regard to import, or export, or industrial production, and so forth. All the principal reasons indicate that the current exchange rate with regard to the German mark will be maintained for quite a long time.

[Sajatovic] Why?

[Skegro] We have lower inflation than our foreign trade partners, so realistic depreciation occurs even when the exchange rate is stable.

[Sajatovic] There is a theory that the current insolvency is actually hidden inflation, that it is another name for inflation.

[Skegro] Such considerations are really a residue of the frame of mind that existed in the old system, according to which the function of the government and the National Bank of Croatia should boost the economy by a sufficient amount of money. Insolvency is for the most part another term for theft or fraud. It means that somebody makes purchase orders for goods or services for which he does not pay. The greatest part of the responsibility lies with the section of the judiciary that is engaged with such matters, because magistrates absolutely must not pursue either economic, or welfare policy. We, as the government, were bound hand and foot in that regard, so we have envisaged this law on the financial recovery of some firms as a sort of temporary assistance aimed at protecting creditors in regular legal proceedings because of the magistrates' being too busy.

The issue of insolvency itself, no matter how serious it is, is not something that may endanger the stabilization program. Of course, it would be better if there were no insolvency. The factor that contributes to insolvency is the bait of nonprivatized firms. The growing business empires are buying firms without making commitments to their suppliers, and those suppliers are usually small firms that dare not protest out of fear that they might stay without orders.

Insolvency could mean inflation if we turned it into money. Politically, it would be far easier to pay overdue debts, and even to assist this through multilateral compensation. That, however, is ruinous. It would be as if one were to intervene after a football match, redistribute the points and declare a new champion.

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Estimate Given on Land Mines in Croatia, Bosnia

AU2909165995 Paris AFP in English
1628 GMT 29 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 29 (AFP)—Six million land mines litter the battlefields of the former Yugoslavia, most with so little metal that they are virtually undetectable, a UN mine disposal officer said Friday [29 September].

Up to three million land mines were laid in Croatia, most on the old front lines between Croatian government troops and rebel Serbs, said Bob Keeley, the UN mine disposal officer.

"Both sides in the conflict made liberal use of mines," said Keeley.

The result has been an estimated 800 amputations in the past four years, with about 25 farmers injured in their fields this year in Eastern Slavonia, Keeley said.

He could not say how many people had been killed by the mines.

Eastern Slavonia is the last patch of Croatia still held by Serbs, the other two sections having been retaken in May and August.

Another three million mines have been laid in Bosnia, and no real effort has yet been made to clear them, Keeley said.

"If people are still laying mines, there's no point in anybody going to pick them up," he said.

The mines laid in the former Yugoslavia are generally made of plastic because it is cheaper, but this also makes them difficult to detect, Keeley said.

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General Shalikashvili Arrives on Official Visit

LD1310112095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—John Shalikashvili, U.S. chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, arrived on an official visit to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] this morning, it has been announced in Skopje.

Immediately upon his arrival Shalikashvili went to the UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] in FYROM and then had a meeting with Stojan Andov, acting head of state and parliament speaker. [passage omitted]

Mission Head on Country's Admission to OSCE

AU1210213895 Skopje MIC in English 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On the occasion of Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] admittance as a full member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the head of OSCE mission in Skopje, Ambassador Tore Bogh made the following statement: "It is with great satisfaction that I can today announce that Macedonia has been admitted as a fully participating member of the organization which I represent.

"While Macedonia has already for some time had observer status in the organization, the formalization of membership is a sign that the situation in this part of the Balkans is becoming normalized. The Government of Macedonia has shown much patience in this matter. I am confident that the international community will reward the country through increased efforts to assist in its development as a modern, democratic state.

"I wish to add that the shock absorbing capacity which Macedonia has demonstrated after the unsuccessful attempt on the life of its Head of State has won the admiration of all neutral observers."

Gligorov's Condition Listed as 'Stable and Good'

AU1310145595 Paris AFP in English 1415 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Oct 13 (AFP)—Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov, seriously injured in an assassination attempt last week, is in a stable condition despite a light fever, according to a health bulletin published Friday.

The bulletin described Gligorov's condition as "stable and good," and added he was talking again with no problems.

The Macedonian president, targeted in a car bomb attack last Tuesday, underwent a first series of operations to the head immediately following the attack. Tuesday, surgeons carried out a second operation on Gligorov's right eye.

The attack raised fears for the stability of the former Yugoslav republic, in which ethnic rivalries persist in a climate of tension.

There has been no reported progress in investigations into who carried out the attack.

Bulgaria on Possible Arrests

AU1310145795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is following with concern [trevoga] the reports, according to which after the attack against Kiro Gligorov in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], people described as ethnic Bulgarians were arrested, Radko Vlaykov, Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

In this manner, the story about a Bulgarian trail is indirectly supported. Often there are procedural violations when the arrests are carried out. We reserve the right to react as appropriate, the spokesman said.

Ministry Holds News Conference

AU1210183895 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1430 GMT 10 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of the newscast, we informed you that, in the USIS [U.S. Information Service] center in Skopje, a joint news conference is being held by the representative of the Interior Ministry Deputy Secretary Dime Gjurev and foreign experts who participated in investigating the assassination attempt against President Gligorov. Our reporter Dragan Antonovski is calling us again from there:

[Begin recording] More on the news conference of the Interior Ministry. We reported on the first part, and now, concerning the questions that were raised. The Greek journalists, for instance, wanted to know whether, taking into the account the views of Ljupco Georgievski, the president of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], there are indications that they are the possible perpetrators. Deputy Secretary Dime Gjurev said that there are no elements to indicate that, and he does not expect it to be true.

Another question was related to whether the assassination attempt may have been organized by a known

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terrorist group because of the way in which it was carried out. In response, Deputy Secretary Dime Gjurev replied that, according to the way in which it was done, there are indications that it was carried out by a known terrorist group from abroad, but in the interest of the investigation, he did not specify which.

Another question that was also asked at the news conference was related to the statement that an armored vehicle [for the president] is expensive to buy. Gjurev replied that it is stupid to think that way, that it has nothing to do with an expensive armored vehicle, and that it is a question that has to be raised with the government services.

There were many questions about whether Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski has already resigned and where he is at the moment, to which Deputy Secretary Gjurev replied that he was not informed about a resignation and that he believed that Frckovski was at his regular duties in his office. In this phase of the investigation, there has not been enough information discovered for Minister Frckovski to address the public. [end recording]

Widely Available Explosive Used

AU1210213295 Skopje MIC in English 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At yesterday's news conference held in the U.S. Information Service with the Under Secretary for Public Security of the Interior Ministry Dime Gjurev, it was said that the amonal, the explosive which was used in the assassination attempt on Kiro Gligorov, actually has wide application for civil use and as such, is used quite extensively by some Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] companies who deal with such business.

We have learned unofficially that among those who massively use this type of explosive is also the nickel mine Rzhanovo of FENIMAK in Kavadarci. Therefore, allegedly, samples of this explosive have already been taken these days, for testing. However, in the discussion with people who are considered experts in this field, and due to understandable reasons, wish to remain anonymous, we have learned that over the past three years, the amonal supplies have come mainly from Bulgaria, and rarely from Serbia. Therefore, according to their opinion, it is quite realistic that the would-be assassins used Bulgarian explosive. In support of their views, they say that it would have been much more realistic for the explosive to be supplied in the country, than for the would-be assassins to expose themselves to the risk to bring it in from abroad. On the other hand, unofficially, the police have information about enormous stocks of explosive in some domestic warehouses.

VMRO-DPMNE Rejects Blame

AU1210182095 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 Oct 95 p 5

[Article by G.D.: "Macedonia's Capitulation Ratified"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We consider the day of the ratification of the Interim Accord in the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Parliament as a shameful day in the history of the Macedonian people and Macedonian nation. On that day, the capitulation of Macedonia was ratified, and the basic national interests of the Republic of Macedonia were betrayed. We changed the flag four days ago, but two days ago the so-called present authorities definitely accepted the triple name of the state from which, besides minimal positive economic effects, will cause catastrophic consequences on the internal and international plane." This, among other things, was said by Ljupco Georgievski, leader of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], at yesterday's [as published] news conference. The news conference dealt especially with the recent assassination attempt against President Kiro Gligorov.

As it was emphasized at yesterday's news conference, which generated great interest, particularly among the Greek mass media, the recent assassination attempt against the president sparked a "communist-style witchhunt" and a classical attempt by the authorities to defeat the biggest political opponent—the VMRO-DPMNE. "In the past few days, there has been a political lynching of this party in which the regime newspapers are involved, as well as historians who comment on the history of terrorism in Macedonia and the participation of the historic VMRO in such actions, particularly after yesterday's speech by the self-elected Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski," said the president of this party Ljupco Georgievski. He mentioned that in the past few days nearly 80 to 90 percent of the people who have been detained by the Interior Ministry are either members or supporters of the VMRO-DPMNE and that they have been put under great pressure.

"Our party most strongly condemns the terrorist act, and it dissociates itself from all possible insinuations about its involvement. At the same time, it requests the Interior Ministry to solve the case as soon and as efficiently as possible. The whole public is suffering because of this, but most of all the VMRO-DPMNE, which pledged itself for political pragmatism and the

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conquering of power through legal institutions at its last congress," Chairman Georgievski reiterated several times. He said that the party is ready to present alternate ideas about the case. "The 'abundant' terrorist past of the last 50 years from which the present authorities originate is intentionally not mentioned, as are the numerous unsolved murders and affairs that also happened in the past period. Why is it not mentioned that Gligorov had political opponents in the Alliance for Macedonia, or that there are conflicts between the president of the state and Prime Minister Crvenkovski and Assembly Chairman Andov?" Georgievski asked.

The VMRO-DPMNE's investigations of the assassination attempt were also revealed at the news conference. Georgievski accused Gligorov's closest associates of this, people who were informed about his movements. He wondered why remote-controlled detonators were excluded as a possibility in the attempt, and also noted that the comfort of the perpetrators was most probably due to the fact that they have a "strong alibi."

Georgievski answered numerous questions of the journalists. As for the insulting leaflets that appeared in Prilep and Kicevo, he said that he did not have information from there, but he claimed that they were certainly not circulated by the assassins. Georgievski did not exclude the possibility of the participation of secret services in the attempt, and as for the statement of the Bulgarian interior minister, he said that it is "rough and nondiplomatic and harmful to the relations between the two states."

DP Urges Calm

AU1210220195 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1430 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The fostering of a heated atmosphere and the mutual public accusations of the political parties in the country after the assassination attempt against President Gligorov are a dangerous trend, it was stated at today's news conference of the Democratic Party [DP]. Satisfaction over the improvement of President Gligorov's health was also expressed. DP secretary Risto Penov presented the party's views on the situation:

[Begin recording] The ruling parties, particularly the Social Democratic Alliance and the Liberal Party, must introduce more discipline among their ranks and contribute to the overcoming of this heated political atmosphere. The executive power and Mr. Branko Crvenkovski must introduce more discipline among the members of the cabinet, particularly in reference to Mr. Stevo Crvenkovski [foreign minister] who, with his worrying presentations, is seriously destabilizing the situation and introducing unrest, confusion, and additional division among the citizens. If, in the future, such failures or similar ones are tolerated, our suspicions that the authorities are trying to abuse this tragic event and settle accounts with its political competition and with all those who do not share its political opinion will, unfortunately, be confirmed.

We call on the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] not to use the same means in defending itself from ill-intentioned attacks. We call on the mass media to be professional and responsible and thus make an active contribution to this atmosphere and to refrain, as much as possible, from taking sides in the present parties' settling of accounts. [end recording]

Speculation by Zagreb Daily

AU1310094695 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 95 p 16

[Commentary by Fran Visnar: "A Professional Terrorist Attack"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The attempt on the life of Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov was a carefully planned and calculated terrorist act with the aim of achieving the maximum destabilization of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. Even initial analyses have shown that the bomb used in the attempt is of as high a technical quality as those made by the best known terrorist groups. Macedonian investigators therefore immediately requested U.S. help and the engagement of experts from Germany, France, Italy, and Great Britain, which all have experience of this kind of terrorism.

The first conclusion of the international investigation team will also be the answer to two questions: Whether the local groups in Macedonia (which initial suspicions indicate) have the potential to operate in such a way and, more importantly, which of them has the strongest motive to get rid of a president known for his composed nature and moderate policy of compromise.

The list that FBI and CIA investigators have made begins with the Macedonian Albanians and the more extreme nationalists among them. Namely, they do not like Gligorov: They accuse him of not having done much for Albanian autonomy, but at the same time they admit that he is the "mildest" Macedonian politician. Any other would probably take a much stricter line toward Albanian demands. The fact is that the Albanians in Macedonia are not unarmed. Even for traditional reasons, there is not a single family that does not have at least one long or short weapon. However, no

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ingenious constructors of sophisticated "Beirut-style" bombs have been noted among them. So what about the external leads? It is evident that Albania itself is increasingly concerned with the rights of the ethnic Albanian community in Macedonia. However, it would be highly counterproductive for Tirana to encourage, advise, or organize such a serious act in any way, aimed at getting rid of a head of state under "American protection." Moreover, the Albanians in Macedonia gain nothing from the murder of Gligorov; it would only disturb relations with the Macedonians and create tension common to situations prior to civil wars.

A "Hot" Lead

What about the Serbs? The Serbian minority in Macedonia, concentrated mainly in the areas of Kumanovo and Skopska Crna Gora, is usually too loud in making some of its demands, but it is not a serious threat to national security. They do possess some small arms, which they are hiding, as well as selling on the internal "black market." No local Serb would be able to plan and carry out the assassination attempt at the Bristol Hotel in Skopje without support from the mother country, primarily the army and the intelligence service. However, why would the Serbs want to get rid of Gligorov at the moment he and Milosevic were just about to conclude a mutually useful agreement?

The Greeks? The arguments that hold for Milosevic are also good for Greece. It would be irrational to "change" (kill) a man with whom it is possible to talk and negotiate, though there is something else that needs to be pointed out. The technology of the explosive used in the car bomb was perfected precisely by the mysterious, powerful, and elusive Greek terrorist group called 17 November, which consists of extreme left-wingers and urban guerrillas trained to operate in a military way. The attempt on Gligorov's life has a twinlike resemblance to an operation carried out by 17 November. On 28 June 1988, using a remote-controlled car bomb, they killed Captain William Nordeen (the then U.S. naval attache in Greece and a top intelligence official) in the middle of an residential Athens suburb.

However, the Italian Mafia and their colleagues from Corsica use the same tactics and technology of urban terrorism. Nevertheless, it is not very likely that Kiro Gligorov had become a target of assassins because he wanted to cut off the heroin "routes" across Macedonia.

And what about the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity]? The most powerful Macedonian opposition party very fiercely opposes the policy of compromise that Gligorov was implementing towards Greece, the Albanians, and the Serbs, which, in their opinion, is tantamount to "national treason." If VMRO is in any way involved in the assassination attempt, they will be internationally compromised, particularly with the Americans, and the legal authorities in Skopje will then have good reason to strike at all VMRO's extremist wings. It is reasonable to expect that the Macedonian investigators will not miss that chance, since foreign experts also say that this lead is hot enough to make their fingers burn.

Household Arsenals

It is a known fact that the most implacable renegades and dissidents in VMRO have for years been getting certain quantities of light weapons, ammunition, and explosive charges of Eastern German, Czech, and Bulgarian origin on the European "black market" for weapons, their excuse being that the Albanians are getting their supplies from the same "sources." The topic was excellently treated in Milce Mancevski's film "Before the Rain": Both the Albanians and the Macedonians use machine guns, automatic weapons, and Czech-produced guns that some people sometimes wrongly identify as Israeli Uzis. The Macedonian police, as well as the CIA, have noted occasional contacts between VMRO extremists and former Bulgarian military intelligence agents and experts in commando and sabotage weapons, who were either retired or no longer have a job in Bulgaria.

At any rate, Kiro Gligorov was injured in an action that was planned and prepared well in advance and the investigation will probably show later that there may be a much deeper conspiracy. The investigators must act fast and accurately. The assassination attempt must not remain unresolved as was the case with the murder of Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme, who was Gligorov's political model in the sense of "Europeanizing" Macedonia.

Preparations for Implementing Greek Accord

AU1210214495 Skopje MIC in English 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The delegations of the Foreign Ministries of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Greece, led by the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia Ljupcho Arsovski and the director of the Balkans Department in the Greek Foreign Ministry Dimitros Kipreos, yesterday continued the talks on the practical application of the measures for the realization of the New York document from September 13.

The Foreign Ministry announced that "practical measures for resolving most of the questions have been reached in a working and constructive atmosphere." The talks will continue today, when, according to the Foreign Ministry, a joint document on the talks between the

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two delegations held in Athens last week and in Skopje these past two days, is expected to be coordinated.

Also participating in the delegations are representatives of the Ministries of Transport and Interior Affairs, as well as the Customs Administration. The two delegations also have an expert on international law.

According to the preliminary predictions, the document was expected to be coordinated yesterday evening when the heads of delegations were supposed to hold a joint news conference. However, by the time the newspaper was closed, the talks in the Foreign Ministry were still going on. During the day, several short breaks and consultations were made, while the members of the Greek delegation could be noticed going to their hotel "Grand Hotel-Skopje" from the building of the Foreign Ministry, and back. Despite all our efforts, not one member of the two delegations wanted to contact the press yesterday, and the talks were held behind strictly closed doors.

Sources in the Foreign Ministry informed VECER that the talks yesterday did not go so smooth. As could be presumed, the most attention was paid to the questions which appeared to be controversial at last week's meeting in Athens, as well. Namely, about the inscription that has to stand at the future Macedonian Liaisons Office in Athens and the way in which the Macedonian citizens will travel to Greece. In addition, some details still had to be worked out regarding the transportation of goods and trade, i.e. the TIR carnettes and the international car sign "MK." The Greek delegation also insisted that the goods crossing the border bear the sign "Made in FYROM," in English language.

We have learned that it has been agreed for the visas to Macedonian and Greek citizens to be issued in the liaison offices in Skopje and Athens. Special forms with photographs will be issued when entering Greece, as a replacement for the Macedonian passport, which Greece will not recognize as a travelling document. Yesterday's talks also brought up the issue of the outline of the form and whether it will contain the graph "nationality." Yesterday, the speculation could also be heard that seeing unresolved questions were still left, there would be a third round of talks in Athens. However, yesterday's announcement of the Foreign Ministry in a way denied this speculation. Anyway, the Interim Accord that was signed by the Ministers Crvenkovski and Papoulias is to come into effect in a month, i.e. tomorrow.

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1995 Presidential Election Highlights No 1

96P20014A

[FBIS Media Note] According to a 2 October TV POLONIA WIADOMOSCI report, 17 candidates are officially registered to run in the presidential elections, scheduled for 5 and 19 November. The last candidate to submit a petition, leader of the extreme nationalist Polish National Community-Polish National Party Boleslaw Tejkowski, was denied registration by the State Electoral Committe (PKW) on the "basis of the negative verification of signatures." The total of 17 candidates nearly triples the number of candidates in 1990. According to the election schedule, PKW must publicly announce the information about registered candidates by 21 October; only then can the candidates begin their paid campaign advertising in the media. TV WIADOMOSCI listed the candidates in the order in which they were registered:

—President Lech Walesa

—Janusz Korwin-Mikke of the Union for Real Politics (UPR)

—Kazimierz Piotrowicz, entrepreneur and inventor

—Aleksander Kwasniewski of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)

—Waldemar Pawlak of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL)

—Jacek Kuron of the Freedom Union (UW)

—Jan Olszewski of the Movement for the Republic (RdR)

—Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, National Bank of Poland (NBP) president, endorsed by the Christian National Union (ZChN)

—Leszek Moczulski of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN)

—Marek Markiewicz of the Republican Party (PR)

—Bogdan Pawlowski of the Wielkopolska League

—Jan Pietrzak, independent, a standup comedian and entertainer

—Tadeusz Kozluk, independent, a professor, rector of the private Business and Administration School in Warsaw

—Tadeusz Zielinski, ombudsman, supported by Union of Labor (UP)

—Leszek Bubel, businessman

—Lech Kaczynski, former chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK), endorsed by Center Accord (PC)

—Andrzej Lepper of the "Samoobrona" Farmers Trade Union.

According to a 29 September-3 October survey carried out by the Center for Research on Public Opinion (OBOP) and reported by the 9 October GAZETA WYBORCZA, "the political scene is polarizing" and divisions between the supporters of postcommunists and anticommunists are becoming more "visible." Furthermore, it was noted that the number of undecided voters dropped from 15 to 7 percent since September. The frontrunner SLD (Democratic Left Alliance) candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski gained support over the last month from 26.3 percent in September to 29.6 percent in October. Similar gains were noted for the incumbent Walesa, whose popularity "soared from 11.6 percent to 18.2 percent" during the same time period. The survey noted only a slight increase of a "mere 1 percent" gain for Waltz, who occupies third place in the polls.

Another public opinion survey, conducted by the Social Research Laboratory (PBS) in mid-September and reported in 22 September RZECZPOSOLITA, placed Aleksander Kwasniewski at the top as the most popular candidate in the first round of the elections. However, those polled felt that if the elections were to be held "now," at the time of polling rather than in November, a Kwasniewski victory in the second round of the elections would not be at all assured. The most probable opponents in a runoff round in that case would be the incumbent president or ZChN candidate Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

The Polish right wing failed to unite in endorsing a common candidate, the result of which, in the opinion of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC (15 Sep) editor Andrzej Gelberg, will be an "unavoidable" dispersion of votes between the many right-wing candidates, with the differences between second and fifth place so insignificant that a mere "10 or 12 percent support of the electorate may be sufficient to advance to the second round of the election." Forecasting a winner from the Right for the first round is a virtually impossible task, concluded Gelberg, who noted that almost "any result" may be expected.

Despite declaring political neutrality, the Catholic Church Episcopate Secretary Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek did not rule out the possibility that the Episcopate will issue a "pastoral letter" between the first and second rounds of the election if it looks like Kwasniewski "has a good chance of winning." In a letter issued by the Episcopate on 26 August, the bishops warned Poles against electing a postcommunist candidate for the presidency. "Such people cannot guarantee that they are able to govern differently than they have in the past

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when they caused the pauperization of the nation and ran the country into debt," states the letter, according to the Czestochowa-based Catholic weekly NIEDZIELA (10 Sep). A second letter entitled "A Word in Public Matters" was issued at the conclusion of the Episcopate Conference 15-16 September and published in the 18 September GAZETA WYBORCZA. The bishops cautioned Poles not to "behave as they did in the 1993 elections," (which the postcommunists won). Furthermore, the bishops took a critical view of the ruling coalition by saying "we observe the activities of the Parliament with a certain anxiety, but it would be an even greater danger if the representative of this group held the highest office in the country."

According to the 17 September TYGODNIK MALOPOLSKA, the Solidarity weekly for southern Poland, a straw poll (prawybory) will be held sometime at the beginning of October in Wrzesnia, a small town located between Poznan and Konin in central western Poland. Among the organizers of this event are: the leftist Poznan weekly WPROST, Radio RMF, the Foundation for Development of Local Democracy, and the Pentor Institute for Research on Market and Public Opinion. As the weekly noted, a similar straw poll conducted in 1993 produced "results which closely approximated the results of the September 1993 parliamentary elections."

A less significant straw poll took place in Krakow and was reported by PAP on 5 October; it was conducted by the small afternoon daily DZIENNIK POLSKI and Radio Krakow, and only 42,500 participants responded by phone-in vote. Kwasniewski won with 11,214 votes, followed by Kuron at 6,539 and Walesa at 6,480. Among the remaining candidates, Waltz garnered 4,392 votes, Korwin-Mikke 3,651, Zielinski 3,332, Olszewski 2,753, Piotrowicz 1,624, and Moczulski 1,171.

Presidential Candidate Kuron Interviewed

LD1310110795 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2150 GMT 12 Oct 95

[Election broadcast interview with Jacek Kuron, presidential candidate supported by the Freedom Union, UW, on 12 October, by correspondents Krzysztof Leski and Jaroslaw Kurski—latter invited by the candidate; from the "Several Hard Questions" program—recorded; originally broadcast live at 1800 GMT on Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Leski] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, good evening, sir.

[Kuron] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, good evening, gentlemen.

[Leski] Over half a year ago, when the Freedom Union was making the decision that you will be the candidate for president, there were these hopes that you would be a supraparty candidate. Meanwhile, it has ended with not even the whole of the Freedom Union supporting you.

[Kuron] I have to say that I am surprised at this information that you have presented. It is always better to find something out, and this is something which I have found out. Now, in fact, I was chosen in a roll-call vote of all members of the UW, and I received over two-thirds of the votes, and I continue to have in full the feeling of the decisive support of the UW. But my candidacy was put forward by committees supporting me, very active and significant ones, first in Zoliborz [a Warsaw district], then in Poznan. There were many of them, and apart from that the Union of Labor [UP] Youth Federation, various groups of experts and specialists.

There is, for instance, my report on the condition of the state, prepared by very... [changes thought] there is a scientific council here, of people clearly outside the party and at the same time significant sociologists, economists, practicianers; and almost 100 people worked on this, and 6,000 letters were analyzed here to that effect [as heard]. And, finally, the trust that I enjoy in society is also a clear support for me.

[Kurski] Precisely, I wanted to ask about trust. For as a politician, you enjoy 70-percent trust, but nonetheless, as a candidate for president, only eight percent. How would you explain this?

[Kuron] You see, as to the support I enjoy as a candidate for president, we will undoubtedly convince ourselves as to that, ladies and gentlemen, all of us without a doubt, on 5 November, on election day. On the other hand, I cannot imagine that it could be possible that Poles would wish to elect as their president someone for whom they do not have trust. [passage omitted]

[Leski] You declare that you wish to run a positive campaign, you oppose accusations of...

[Kuron, interrupting] No, I do not [word indistinct], I am running a positive campaign.

[Leski] But despite that, half-openly, you support the Three-Quarters Initiative, which is functioning within your party. And the Three-Quarters Initiative is after all nothing other than, quite simply, a team of people who wish to discourage society from voting for a certain, particular candidate.

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[Kuron] Those are very intriguing words, half-openly. That means, he has partly gotten off a tram, or there is a whole series of ones like this.

[Leski] Well, yes, because you have never said it straight out, but you have been asked about this initiative, and you say that...

[Kuron, interrupting] I always reply thus...

[Leski] In essence?

[Kuron] Namely, I generally am in favor of social initiatives, I support all social initiatives, with the sole proviso that I feel, and I stress this with all force, and it is the same with this positive campaign, namely, that activities ought to be constructive, they ought to take part, to be a participation in the construction of the state, in the construction of society; and that is a positive campaign, and these are positive actions. On the other hand, as regards the Three-Quarters Initiative, the alternative youth committees supporting me, they say three times cock and bull [laughs]. The point is, they [the Three-Quarters Initiative] have a solely negative program, which is something that I personally do not like. I stress, I feel that if we are running for a post, for this post, then it is not so as to hold the post, but for Poland; and thus, the point is that Poland be built, that people be united in activity, and that in the course of this campaign citizens be able to find themselves a proper road to our country becoming prosperous, and that means prosperous in and through the life of every family.

[Kurski] You promised in your program that you would lead all social and political forces to agree on a new old age and disability pension program. How do you see this? Don't you confuse the competences of president with the competencies of minister of labor?

[Kuron] This report contains many such promises in many different fields. I succeeded in achieving such an agreement at the end of [Prime Minister Hanna] Suchocka. We achieved an agreement as far as the principles of the pension system was concerned with all the trade unions, and probably with all the parties sitting in the parliament at that time. [passage omitted]

[Leski] You are accusing the governments in power in the recent two years, the leftist governments of, I quote, failure to do anything to reform the pension system. The question arises about what you did and what was done in the four previous years?

[Kuron] To list what we did will take a lot of time. We abolished the old system of calculation of pension levels, we introduced a principle of indexation. They were all adopted by a wide range of parties. [passage omitted]

[Kurski] Your Contract for Poland envisages an introduction of a number of programs. I will mention several of them: crime prevention, program for the judiciary, health service for everyone, program for the development of housing construction. Is this a role for the president? Don't you want to become a super prime minister?

[Kuron] Today, the president's main task is to be the leader of the nation, since he is elected in a general election. [passage omitted].

He should point out the tasks and aims and strategically look at the complexity of issues. In my opinion, a leader should have four characteristic features: first, he should know what he wants; second, be able to group specialists around him; third, he should not be afraid of telling the truth straight to the public; fourth, be able to communicate with the people. These are the features the future president should have. These are the features of a leader. [passage omitted]

[Leski] In your program, you have formulated an aim concerning agriculture. You say that agriculture has to be conformed to the requirements of the EU. There is a full stop and there is no more on the subject.

[Kuron, interrupted] I am sorry, but...

[Leski, interrupting] But I would like to know, that compared to today, how many fewer farmers there should be and how much bigger an average farm should be? What does it mean?

[Kuron] I am sorry, but I have not on the whole written about adaptation to the requirements, but let us not go into that dispute, since it has to be adapted, and there is no dispute there. Please be aware that around 40 percent of the population in Poland lives in the countryside, exactly as many as in Western Europe, exactly. The difference is that in the West only eight percent work directly in agriculture, and in this country around it is 30, although that is difficult to calculate precisely, because of peasant-workers and [word indistinct]. It is now necessary to so develop and reconstruct the countryside as to create a series of variegated places of work and tasks in the countryside, precisely for people living in the countryside, in agricultural services, in agricultural supply, in agricultural consultancy, in husbandry [as heard], and so on, and also processing, so as to as little as possible limit [words indistinct]

[Leski] [question indistinct]

[Kuron] This is for the 40 percent. I will say more. If we are to enter the [word indistinct], to enter the EU,

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there are very great restructuring funds available there, which we can quite simply receive. And we can. I have these reassurances on the part of, well, representatives of significant governments in the EU, that they are ready to help us considerably here. And there we find, precisely, Spain, Portugal have received large sums of money. It is just necessary to add something, and this is the difficulty, that they give up to 75 percent, so we have to make the effort to find 35 percent. [passage omitted]

[Kurski] Do you accept the religious character of state ceremonies, and will you, as president, take part in them?

[Kuron] Ladies and gentlemen, there exist these various kinds of tradition, national habits of various kinds of forms for marking various ceremonies. I feel that traditions and habits ought to be respected. On the other hand, were this to signify that certain types of state ceremonies which are not religious ones were to be given a religious character, then I feel that this would be activity that is harmful to the very... to the church, as well. Since various [word indistinct], altogether there is too much conflict in our country over religious matters when there could be none at all, were politicians not to play this card. I am exceptionally uneasy over these games with various issues. I reply: Yes, there where there is a habit, and very clearly: No, where there is no such habit. Where, for instance, a military parade is the accepted thing, then this will not become a parade of military chaplains.

[Leski] Deputy, you have said that a future president ought to witness through his biography such aims of the Republic as, for instance, seeking entry into European structures. But, well, if we were to look just a little closer, your biography is so colorful. You struggled against communism for dozens of years, but equally, at the very start of your adult life, you actively supported this communism. Do you think that, to the end...

[Kuron, interrupting] If we were to start discussing whether you start adult life at 14 or at 12, well, as regards our partners, the judgement of our partners from Western Europe and the United States is fundamental. They have no doubts as to my biography. I am a person who is very well known there, and I have very many friends. Your doubts do not enter the heads of any of them. [passage omitted]

[Leski] Many Poles nonetheless ask themselves this question.

[Kuron] I agree that is so.

[Leski] Your past is to a certain extent controversial, you will agree?

[Kuron] [words indistinct] but [word indistinct] was not controversial. I always stubbornly serve the same values: people, the feeling of security and freedom, of themselves and their close ones, and communities; and not for a moment have I diverged from this, never. [passage omitted]

Most Poles have no doubts on this matter, and I will recall that your question concerned whether the West will recognize my biography. And that is why I replied that the West knows my biography well and fully accepts it. Whether my countrymen do, on the other hand, this is a similar situation; again, this is a political game, all the more so as... [changes thought] Where has the idea come from that I had some communist [?things]? It came—setting aside my books settling accounts with the past, very widely read—above all from communist propaganda, which sought for a very long time to destroy me through this method of untruthfully attributing various things to me: the destruction of the scouting movement, the creation of red scouting, this was all very funny. [passage omitted]

[Kurski] Today you are very critical of Lech Walesa's achievements as president, but on 4 June 1992, in a television address, you thanked him for saving the nation from vetting, as proposed by [then] Internal Affairs Minister Antoni Macierewicz.

[Kuron] You get what you deserve. Many people were attacked, let me put it this way, in a highly indecent manner. It was to become vetting but it turned out to be a circus. Well, in these circumstances, the president in this case behaved as he should have done; and I can say that he managed to do that on several occasions. [passage omitted]

[Kurski] What is, in fact, your stance toward the [Polish-Vatican] Concordat? Would you, as president, ratify this Concordat in its present form?

[Kuron] I would put it like this: the Concordat is, whatever else might be said, an interstate agreement, one that has been initialed. And when an initialed agreement is rejected by, or renegotiated...

[Leski, interrupting] Sorry, I will allow myself to correct you. It is already signed. Not just initialed, but signed.

[Kuron] Not ratified, but initialled, that was what I had in mind. Initialled. I am sorry, I used the wrong word, I am very sorry.

[Leski] It was signed by the government.

[Kuron] By the governments, and that is precisely what is called initialed. On the other hand, before ratification, and I have contracted a few of these agreements and

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there was a very similar situation—someone had some sort of reservations, and it was always said, although these were minor matters in actual fact, that there is no point in making a scandal out of it. That it is better to accept it as it is. Now, I think the same about this. This ought to be ratified.

On the other hand, since there exists a considerable amount of unease around this, on the matter of burials, on the matter of weddings, on the matter of religion in schools, it is necessary for the government and the Episcopate to prepare a protocol disposing of these fears. What does that mean? Guaranteeing that every person will be able to be buried somewhere—a guarantee of burial—that these stories about weddings—there is no problem for me here, but if anyone at all is afraid of this, then this ought to be so written down that neither of the sides suffers wrongs. This refers to religion in schools...

[Leski, interrupting] But are you not satisfied with the public declaration made by the Primate? He has made it, if only yesterday, before the television cameras: I give assurance that it will never be the case that there will be a refusal [of burial].

[Kuron] That is right. This is what I mean. This is an important element, I agree. So now, we come to the third issue of religious tuition at schools. Here, it is necessary for all the interested parties to guarantee very clearly the freedom to take a decision to participate or not to participate in religious tuition; whether or not I want religious tuition. If there are such guarantees, then I am confident that all the fears connected with the Concordat will be dispelled. And I am most concerned that whenever a group of citizens show any signs of fear, then you have to examine this case thoroughly and dispel all the fears.

[Kurski] And the last question: You announced that if elected president, you will not move out of your apartment in Zoliborz and that you will continue to reside there, and not in the presidential palace. Why?

[Kuron] I would like to point out that President Lech Walesa also lives in Gdansk and comes to work to the palace. I will work in the palace. [passage omitted]

[Leski] Thank you very much for your visit to the studio. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for watching, and good night.

Kuron To Form New Movement After Elections

WS1010152395 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish (KONIEC TYGODNIA supplement) 6 Oct 95 p III

[Interview with presidential candidate Jacek Kuron by Zdzislaw Zaryczny; place and date not given: "I Am Skillful in a Different Sense"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Zaryczny] The standard opinion has it that the chief objective of these elections is...

[Kuron] To defeat Kwasniewski.

[Zaryczny] In other words, escaping the alternative of either continuing the practices of the past few years or returning to what we had for the preceding 45?

[Kuron] There is no such alternative because there is no turning back. Those who claim otherwise do not realize they are in a vacuum. In Sosnowiec people told me: "Jacus [diminutive of Jacek], do something to bring communism back." I told them it is coming back. "Nah, what type of communism is that..." Let us not make fools of ourselves. It is not true that Kwasniewski will take us to the past if he becomes president. Kwasniewski's victory—theoretically possible, although rather unlikely in practice—may mobilize all his opponents to fight in the parliamentary elections. On the other hand, however, various mythomaniacs dream that if someone other than Kwasniewski wins everything will miraculously change. Why should it? I fear the opposite will happen. The new president will not perform any miracles or magic tricks. We will wake up in the same country we had lived in thus far, perhaps even a worse one. It is very possible. It will definitely happen if Kwasniewski wins. [passage omitted]

[Zaryczny] If you win the elections, will you continue to protect the rejected and lost? Will you create a social movement, a political bloc?

[Kuron] I do not intend to create a political bloc; a social movement—yes. A socioeconomic movement in the broadest sense, based on various local initiatives. I will create such a movement—regardless of the outcome of the elections. I know what I want to do and will do it. Exactly. I know how to do it, there are people in Poland who are willing to do it, and that is a great force. Of course, it would be far easier if I were president, but who said it should be easier? If I do become president it will be hard. If I do not—it will be harder. But I will do it anyway. I wish to state that Poland "down there," in the gminas and small towns, is really great. A few simple facts: over the past six years we have doubled the number of water mains. This was done by foundations and companies, people organized themselves of their

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own initiative. We have done even more in the field of telephones, despite the fact that the state interfered. The same goes for sewage treatment plants. It would not have been possible without mutual understanding, organization, and cooperation. Poland seems so drab when you look at it from Warsaw. But it is enough to go to Swinoujscie, Nowa Ruda or Mikolow to see the country is bustling with activity. When we asked in Wrzesnia: "What can we do to help you?" we were told: "Do not interfere." They are right.

[Zaryczny] You want to form a social movement headed by a president? The Small Constitution does not give you many possibilities...

[Kuron] If I am elected president in mass democratic elections I will have something far more important: the support of the nation. [passage omitted]

[Zaryczny] What if you do not win?

[Kuron] I already told you: I am creating a social movement.

[Zaryczny] Under the Freedom Union's banner?

[Kuron] I will not do that under any party's banner. Political parties have been tremendously humiliated in our country.

[Zaryczny] Do you mean we should clean up after the parties, or should we try to make something out of them?

[Kuron] Poland's ailment is the division into depoliticized social activists and desocialized politicians. The former are extremely valuable. The latter are sick. Desocialized politicians play weird games, the rules of which nobody understands. There are two possibilities. Either forces capable of attracting the social activists will emerge within the parties—and UW is on the right track in this respect, this is its main forte that has still not been taken advantage of. Or the social activists will reject the parties and create new organizations. Personally, I opt for the former. In my youth I was very radical, but I have had enough time to get cured. Solutions of the "let us clean up" type are dangerous.

[Zaryczny] In terms of concepts and experience you surpass all the other presidential candidates. The majority of Poles, however, may say: "Jacek is too good for the job" and cast their votes on someone else. Will you take that as a personal failure?

[Kuron] No. As I said, I will do what I want to anyway.

[Zaryczny] Today, however, you are asking the voters to trust you as their presidential candidate. What if they say: "No, you have to remain one of us?"...

[Kuron] I understand. That will mean that Poles need me for who I am. And if that is what you need me to be, that is what I will remain to serve you. I am very happy with that! Thank you!

[Zaryczny] Thank you for the interview.

Kwasniewski Wins Straw Election Held by Media

WS1210155595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "KNYSZ": "Election Game in the Media; President on the Phone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday SUPER EXPRESS and Radio Zet organized straw elections for readers and listeners who voted through a call-in system. A total of 104,000 people took part. The majority (32,778) voted for Aleksander Kwasniewski. Lech Walesa netted 14,158 votes. They will compete against each other in the second round tomorrow. Jan Olszewski came in third (12,390), Jacek Kuron—fourth (11,930), Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz—fifth (9,262). The game has nothing to do with preelection rankings which are representative of the opinions of Poles. In the call-in system it is not known who actually got through (for instance if the callers are of voting age), and the group is not representative. At most, it reflects the opinions of those Radio Zet listeners and SUPER EXPRESS readers who have telephones, heard of the game, and decided to call.

U.S., Russian Interests in Europe Examined

WS1310121895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Oct 95 p 6

[Article by Robert Kaczmarek: "New Interests for Washington and Moscow; Russia, the American Ally"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The response in Poland to the Russian plan for reviving its model of economic cooperation was rather unfavorable. Yet the backdrop to this, by no means trivial, foreshadows emerging economic and political trends.

Economic realities are such that due to trade barriers in the West, Eastern markets have taken over some of the vibrancy of the rising Polish economy. However, in the context of general security agreements, the reality of the appearing agreement may be upset unless Polish-Russian relations are harmonious. The primary issue here are the new interests of Washington and Moscow.

These we find first and foremost in the sphere of military geopolitics. The Cold War strategy based on the balance of fear lead to spiraling nuclear armaments, only to reach a level at which arsenals can no longer be used. This, in turn, has led to the need to look for practical alternatives, since shifting the risk of war from the political sphere to chance occurrences, either as the

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outcome of error or madness, is, in essence, a sign of the downfall of politics. This prospect has, in time, become unbearable to the United States, whose might demands rational guarantees of security for military intervention in the global market.

To understand the need for a different political perspective, it would be enough from the Russian point of view to consider such factors as exclusion and encirclement. These factors are in 20th century history a permanent feature of the imperial complex of reasons of state—from the threat of a counterrevolutionary crusade in the twenties, the panicky fear of a separate peace treaty between the Third Reich and the Allies, to the geomilitary blockade of the Soviets after World War II, with American bases on the fringes of the empire, from Turkey to Alaska. The politics of hostile and opposing systems doubly isolated Russia: strengthening anti-Russian sentiment in bordering nations aspiring to opening to the outside world, and also by blocking the boundaries of the empire in the vice of American encirclement. Realism, therefore, calls for a change in strategy—through a geopolitical convenant with Americans. This is precisely the goal Washington is seeking, since Russia, cleansed of its aggressive ideology, would become an element in the flexible game in Eurasia.

The global market, where intentions of both superpowers show far-reaching convergence, provides an alternative for the new policies. It is in Russia's interest to establish her multilateral involvement there, otherwise she runs the risk of becoming marginilized in the world order, if her share in the international division of labor is. by necessity, limited to obtaining revenue from raw materials. For the United States, however, the development of the global market has become the basis for a new doctrine of state security, hence the dual interest in the Russian economy: in simple commercial ties, and also for taking over Russia's technological offer for countries regarded as potentially aggressive.

From the political perspective, the goal of both superpowers is to define the lines for the new division of the spheres of influence, understood as a sort of competitive symbiosis. For former Soviet satellite countries this has resulted in an ambiguous openness of the alliance's options. One one hand, there is NATO declaring its will to open up to new territories, and partial support for their internal integration, even allowing Russia a certain measure of responsibility for the stability of some of the peripheral regions. On the other hand, there is Russia striving to regain lost influence and yet expecting the strengthening of ties between the new democracies and the West. They can serve as an intermediary in the transfer of market potential for her own needs.

Therefore, even the possible definition of the conditions for Poland's integration into NATO structures will not stop intensive efforts toward a solution for including Russia in a broader system of security. The American dilemna is basically a question of establishing a mode of action so that Russia may be more effectively included in such a system: the Partnership for Peace, accompanying the unchanging structures of NATO, or rather including Central European countries in the Atlantic Pact and a separate alliance with Russia.

Under these conditions, the form that Polish defense doctrine may take could have a certain impact on the European balance. Despite clear ennunciations made from Warsaw, and Germany's positive reaction, our accession to NATO is not an obvious issue: The final word shall belong to Washington, where the question will definitely come to the fore as one of the elements in next year's electoral campaign. The pressure of the Polish lobby has been counteracted by resistance from large capital interest groups and public opinion, which will find it difficult to understand what the underlying interests are for isolating Russia, a potential ally in collosal United States involvement in Eurasia.

A simple leap into NATO structures is possible only if Russia resorts to a hostile stance toward the West, which would undermine currrent U.S. foreign policy. If, however, the American policy of cooperation with Russia bears fruit, then the architecture of the new system of European security may be distant from the established system of the Atlantic alliance on one side, and the nebulae of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the other. History teaches us lessons only if if it can be departed from; it is enough to take a cursory glance at a map to realize that the priviledged condition for the security of Central European countries lies in having a friendly Russia. In contributing its share, Poland will offer its most precious dowry to the political commonwealth of the Old Continent.

Rift Over Czech-Slovak Customs Union Viewed

95CH0364A Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by Barbara Sierszula: "Closer to Poland, More Distant From Slovakia: The Czech Republic Before CEFTA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I'm surprised by the decision of the Slovak Government to abolish the duties on the imports of low-displacement cars," said Vaclav Klaus several hours after the news of that decision reached Prague. The Czech prime minister was also annoyed for another reason: On 1 September, on the occasion of Slovakia's national holiday, Bratislava diplomats

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had assured him that no such abolition would take place. The diplomatic channel proved unreliable. Now Vaclav Klaus intends to discuss the consequences of that decision to the Czech-Slovak customs union with Prime Minister Meciar during their meeting in Brno. That will be the first official meeting of the prime ministers of the Czech Republic and Slovakia since the formation of the government of Vaclav Klaus.

In preparing his entourage for the trip to Brno the Czech prime minister yet again offered the reminder that the Czechs are opposed to all forms of institutionalization and political cooperation among the Central European countries (the terms "Visegrad" and "postcommunist" are not used in Prague), but said that they fully support economic cooperation with these countries. In Brno the Czech delegation intends to opt for extending CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] to more countries (Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Baltic republics), and it will propose expanding the liberalizing principles so that CEFTA would comprise not only trade in goods but also trade in services.

In a situation in which problems are growing and our "Four" has no place to discuss things over, cliques and subcliques are beginning to form. The events and the comments of Visegrad Group politicians since the June summit of the European Union till now indicate that certain cracks are arising within the CEFTA grouping. It is as if two pairs have begun to form: Czech-Polish and Slovak-Hungarian. On us in Cannes there blew a warm Mediterranean breeze in the form of the words of Prime Minister Klaus who, after talks with Prime Minister Oleksy, declared that Prague wants a rapprochement with Warsaw. Thus, during the summer there was an entire series of visits and revisits. Warsaw was visited by the Czech ministers of industry, defense, and transportation, while Prague was visited by Deputy Prime Minister Jagielinski, whereupon Prime Ministers Klaus and Oleksy met in Silherzovice. The temperature of mutual contacts rose markedly, and that certainly is grounds for rejoicing. It is being said in diplomatic circles that, under the influence of Warsaw's position, Prague has postponed the deadline of the order requiring $300 from foreigners at the border and is exploring new, more reasonable solutions.

Between Slovakia and the Czech Republic relations are no longer so good. After the Czechs onesidedly renounced the payments agreement with Slovakia, which means that commercial transactions should be cleared in dollars starting on 1 October, the Slovaks abolished duties on motor vehicles and are threatening limitations on imports of Czech beer. This is a blow to the customs union existing between these countries, as well as a violation of the rules of the game and an underhanded move, Prague claims. Czech cars, which are brought duty-free into Slovakia, will now become much less attractive to Slovak customers. The Skoda Felicia will cost in Slovakia as much as, say, an Opel Corsa or a Fiat Cinquecento, which may undermine its sales.

Given these Czech-Slovak economic tit-for-tat moves, it is not unlikely that the Czechs will break off the customs union; the impression arises that we are dealing with cutting off one's nose to spite one's face. It is as if some other political regrets and pretensions were manifesting themselves through bilaterally struck economic blows.

Should the Czechs terminate their customs union with Slovakia, then within the Visegrad Group their only remaining major partner will be Poland. Hungary, with which the Czech Republic has no common boundary since the breakup of Czechoslovakia, is of declining importance to the Czechs, and besides, Prague is irritated because within CEFTA, Budapest is protecting its market too strongly and refuses to agree to lowering many customs barriers. Much bad blood was caused by an article written by Miklosz G. Tomas, director of the Philosophical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which was reprinted by the Czech LIDOVE NOVINY (August 30) under the title "Putyka doktora Klausa" [The Tavern of Dr. Klaus]. Written "in bile" and breathing hatred, Tomas' article evaluates the Czech reforms. It caused very sharp reactions in Prague. "This is neofascism," wrote Prague columnists.

The list of the existing grievances among the Visegrad countries, which are grouping themselves into two-, three-, and four-sided alignments, can be readily prolonged. I fear that a single meeting between prime ministers who agreed to discuss in Brno duties, trade, and the admission of new members to the CEFTA agreement, will be insufficient, and that again many incomplete sentences will be uttered.

Supreme Court Rejects German Association Appeal

LD1110211095 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Oct 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Supreme Court has rejected the appeal of the minister of justice on the statute of the Socio-Cultural Association of Germans in Poland [TSKNwP]. Minister Jaskiernia felt that the statute made it possible for Germans who were not Polish citizens to join the association. The Supreme Court cited, among other things, the statement by Deputy Henryk Kroll, chairman of the association, who gave assurances that there is no possibility of a German citizen becoming a member of the association.

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[Correspondent Marzena Paczuska] Two years ago, the Socio-Cultural Association of the German Minority in the Opole region of Silesia changed its name to the TSKNwP. Simultaneously, it was adopted in the statute that every inhabitant of the region who is of German nationality can be a member. Minister Jaskiernia made an appeal against this, demanding that the statute be supplemented with a clause to the effect that only a Polish citizen may be a member of the association. In the view of the minister, the questioned formulation created the possibility of acceptance into the association of citizens of Germany as well. According to the association authorities, this is ruled out because the statute cites the provisions of the Polish-German Treaty of 1991.

[Begin TSKNwP Chairman Kroll recording] Only Polish citizens may be members. We can, however, accept members who are not citizens of Poland, but on the basis of them being honorary members. [end recording]

[Paczuska] The court acknowledged that the statement by a representative of the association is adequate.

[Begin Supreme Court spokesman Judge Krzysztof Kauba recording] The statement made in public, made before the court, by the chairman of the association has, in my view, a very great significance. These are the realities that we must stick to today. [end recording]

[Paczuska] Consenting to the ruling of the Supreme Court, Minister Jaskiernia stressed that the court based its judgement on the verbal statement of a person interpreting the regulations and not upon the provisions of a document. The Supreme Court acknowledged that the reference in the statute of the organization to the international regulations in force on national minorities is an adequate safeguard of adherence to the law.

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Tinca: People Should Decide on NATO Bases

AU1310141195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] For Romania, the continuation of reform in the army is the only possible way to keep up with the current international political situation, said Minister of National Defense Gheorghe Tinca at a news conference today.

Within this framework, one can also include the important restructuring actions of the Romanian Army, given that, from this point of view, Romania is aligning itself to international norms.

On the issue of placing Army General Paul Cheler [commander of Romania's 4th "Transylvania" Army] into the reserves, the minister of national defense emphasized that, quote, Gen. Cheler had been a good soldier and his remarks did not matter as much as what he had done for the Romanian Army, end quote. As regards the deployment of nuclear weapons or NATO military bases on Romania's territory, the Romanian people will be the only ones to decide on this matter, the minister of national defense said in conclusion.

Speaker Nastase, Syria's Qaddurah Discuss IPU

JN1210155395 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1215 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bucharest—Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies, last night received 'Abd-al-Qadir Qaddurah, speaker of the Syrian People's Assembly. Shakir Is'ayyid, head of the Arab and Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Assembly, and Hamid Hasan, the Syrian charge d'affaires in Bucharest.

Discussion revolved around relations between the Syrian People's Assembly and Romania's Chamber of Deputies and the agenda of the 94th conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU]. [passage omitted]

Iliescu on 'Historic Reconciliation' With Hungary

AU1310085295 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Oct 95 p 6

[Article by Matthias Rueb: "'Historic Reconciliation' According to the German-French Example"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Frankfurt, 11 October—Romanian President Iliescu is confident that the "historic reconciliation" with the neighboring country, Hungary, which was suggested by Bucharest, will be achieved. The relations between Hungary and Romania should be developed according to the example of the German-French friendship, Iliescu said in an interview with this newspaper. Four weeks ago, Bucharest presented Romania's proposals to the government in Budapest.

Iliescu called Budapest's first reaction positive. The package of proposals consists of three documents: a joint political declaration where the two countries' desire for good-neighborly relations is affirmed; an agreement where concrete forms of cooperation in the political, cultural, and military field are agreed upon; and an agreement on the minority rights. The government in Budapest is currently examining the Romanian proposals; Hungary has not yet officially responded to Romania's initiative.

Iliescu stressed that the proposed documents on the "historic reconciliation" with Hungary are not to replace the basic treaty that is desired by Budapest, but they may complement it. Despite months of negotiations of expert commissions and several meetings between Foreign Minister Kovacs and Foreign Minister Melescanu, Budapest and Bucharest have not been able to agree on a text for a basic treaty so far. The main controversial point continues to be Budapest's demand that the Hungarian minority in Romania—whose strength is put at just under two million by Budapest and at 1.6 million by Bucharest—must get the right to territorial autonomy in compact settlement areas. Iliescu rejected this again in the interview because a "segregative demand" like that is an "un-European proposal" and can be the preliminary stage of intended secession. Iliescu also rejected the criticism of Bucharest's minority policy, which is above all voiced in connection with the new Romanian Education Law. The rights of the minorities are by no means restricted if, in an addition to an examination in one's mother tongue, an examination in the Romanian language and literature is also required for the university entrance level or the instruction in technical or scientific subjects in grammar schools is given in Romanian. This is in line with the practices in all European states. Iliescu, above all, blamed the leaders of the Hungarian minority, whose agitation is aimed at discrediting Romania, for the criticism of the Education Law, which is unjustified from his point of view.

The Romanian president again criticized sharply the "unacceptable statements" by Vadim Tudor, leader of the Greater Romania Party [PRM], that Iliescu is betraying Romania's interests because he leaves the economy of the country to Jewish interests. Like the nationalist National Romanian Unity Party (PUNR), the nationalist PRM is part of the government coalition headed by the Social Democracy Party of Romania (PDSR), which is close to Iliescu. Iliescu expressed the view that, with his anti-Semitic statements, Vadim Tudor took an "individual view" in his party. All the same, the PDSR called on Vadim Tudor's party to

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clarify its party line. However, Iliescu does not see an immediate danger to the continuation of the government coalition (Iliescu himself avoided the term, which is technically justified, and talked of "cooperation").

Iliescu assessed his one-week visit to the United States, which he had recently concluded and which had been criticized as a failure by the opposition in Bucharest, as a success. First of all, his meeting with President Clinton and Vice President Gore has deepened political contacts. As the second important point, the Romanian president mentioned the contacts with representatives of the U.S. economy that had been established during his trip. Romania wants further investments from the United States, which, after South Korea and before Germany, is the biggest investor in Romania.

Finally, third, his talks in Washington with defense experts and high-ranking officers showed a high degree of agreement on the development of a new European security architecture. In this context, Iliescu stressed Bucharest's call for the equal treatment of all central European states that want to join NATO. The NATO program "Partnership for Peace" is the proper instrument to take the reform states closer to the alliance. As for the rest, Iliescu affirmed Romania's claim to a sovereign decision on entry into NATO. There cannot be a veto right for Russia, although Bucharest always strives for good relations with Moscow. Iliescu said that the relations with Germany are good. Iliescu had paid a two-day visit to Hesse, participated in the opening of the Frankfurt book fair as a guest of honor, and held talks with politicians and economic representatives.

Notes Respect for Human Rights

AU1310085595 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 12 Oct 95 p 2

[Report by "ef": "Ion Iliescu Is Wooing Investors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna—Since the revolution of 1989, Romania has established a democratic system and offers foreign investors good economic and political surroundings. This was the message of Romanian President Ion Iliescu, who gave a lecture on the current situation in his home country in the Creditanstalt bank on Wednesday evening [11 October].

The enthusiasm of the gathered bankers and entrepreneurs was limited. The questions addressed to the guest primarily dealt with the unstable political situation in Romania and not with economic prospects.

Asked by DER STANDARD about the situation of the Hungarian minority and the Education Law, which was adopted this summer and restricts the possibilities for operating Hungarian schools, Iliescu pointed to the situation of the Romanians in Hungary. They have far fewer human rights there. In 1918, there were still 250,000 Romanians there, today only 10,000 and there is not a single Romanian school. "Perhaps the policy of assimilation in Hungary was the right one," the president said and stressed the role in promoting democracy of bilingual families in Romania. His country grants minorities all rights, except for the right to "territorial autonomy in line with ethnic criteria."

Iliescu came from Frankfurt, where he presented his book "A New Start Toward Europe" at the Frankfurt book fair. The book describes the revolution of 1989 and Ceaucescu's overthrow from a personal viewpoint. In Vienna, Iliescu met Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and President Thomas Klestil. They discussed the extension of Austrian-Romanian relations and the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

Chebeleu Denies Iliescu Made Territorial Claims

AU1210192395 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 10 Oct 95 p 6

[Unattributed report from Bucharest: "There Were No Statements on Return of Territories"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During his visit to the United States, Romanian President Ion Iliescu made no statements on the return of Romanian territories that, as a result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, belong to other states, said Traian Chebeleu, spokesman for the presidency, at a news conference in Bucharest. He thereby corrected inaccurate information published by the American newspaper THE WASHINGTON TIMES. Traian Chebeleu explained that President Iliescu had only confirmed the existence in Romania of certain political forces that advance such demands.

Daily Reveals Iliescu's 'Fear' of Vadim Tudor

AU1310095895 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 7-8 Oct 95 p 1

[Editorial by Ion Cristoiu: "The Vadim-Iliescu Case—Corneliu Vadim Tudor Has Become the Strongest Man in Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The attack launched by Corneliu Vadim Tudor [President of Greater Romania Party—PRM] against Ion Iliescu is a document, because it is not a simple list of insults and calumnies against the president. Beyond the cart of dirt thrown over the president's head, one can guess an incredible self-assurance. In this attack, Corneliu Vadim Tudor is not a journalist who got mad because of one of Ion Iliescu's jibes. Upon his return from America, the president backed down and declared that he did not call the

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PRM leader a Romanian Zhirinovskiy. Even if he had said this in the United States, Corneliu Vadim Tudor's reply is disproportionate. It is clear that it does not represent, as Ion Iliescu believes, an emotional outburst of an artist. The PRM leader used the president's statement as a pretext to launch an attack that had been prepared well in advance against Ion Iliescu. This attack, from the beginning to the end, indicates that the president's trousers are shaking in fear. In the same issue [No.274] of the ROMANIA MARE magazine, just like in many other issues lately, we encounter a incredible cult of the PRM leader. This is a cult that radically exceeds Nicolae Ceausescu's cult. Ceausescu's cult was limited to eulogies to his intelligence and wisdom. And that, from a certain viewpoint, stayed within the limits of decency. There was never written about Nicolae Ceausescu that he was God's chosen and a savior of the Romanian nation. These things are only said about Corneliu Vadim Tudor in each issue of the ROMANIA MARE magazine. A normal person would protest such things, even if other publications were printing those words. The PRM leader displays them in his own magazine. Many of them are written by himself. To let yourself be flattered to such an extent means that you really believe that you are God's messenger on earth. Although it seems incredible, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, as one can see also in the war with Ion Iliescu, considers himself the strongest man in Romania. Is this belief the result of a beginning of paranoia? Certainly not. In the three years since he has become Ion Iliescu's ally, the PRM leader has been hanging, drawing, and quartering in this country. The presidency and the government have fulfilled all his whims. High-ranking political and cultural personalities have been mercilessly sacrificed to please Corneliu Vadim Tudor. The competent [former] minister of national defense, Nicolae Spiroiu, was the target of a furious attack because he refused to promote Tudor's brother to the rank of general. Immediately Cotroceni put Spiroiu on a shelf. Other dignitaries received orders not to initiate anything against the PRM leader. The president's spokesman, Traian Chebeleu, was also the target of some calumnies and a whole country was laughing at him. The distinguished person did not dare utter a word. It is clear that his boss, Ion Iliescu, did not allow him to be brave. Romania's prosecutor general received an endless string of insults signed by Corneliu Vadim Tudor. Not only he, but his wife was attacked, too. He was called blind and a drunkard. This distinguished person did not react either because he would have lost his job. Taking all these examples into account, the top leaders of some legal institutions in Romania, dignitaries, and prefects got frightened. Not of Corneliu Vadim Tudor's attacks, but of the possibility that he would ask for their heads. In this way, a worse situation than in Ceausescu times has been reached. In an allegedly democratic society, a man has become more frightening for ministers, dignitaries, and heads of police, as well as for high-ranking officials of secret services than was the dictator before December 1989. Then how can one wonder in such a situation that the head of the Bucharest Police Station runs to the location when Corneliu Vadim Tudor's housekeeper simply calls on the phone! Benefiting from such great privileges, placed above the law, and above all decency, even a lucid person would lose his head and believe that he is God's messenger on Romanian soil, let alone a man like Corneliu Vadim Tudor, who has had the grain of paranoia deep inside him waiting for appropriate conditions to sprout. The recent conflict with Ion Iliescu was aimed at increasing not only this unimaginable self-assurance, but also the power that Corneliu Vadim Tudor enjoys in Romania. The head of state himself, although Corneliu Vadim Tudor dragged his name through the mud, hurried to apologize. The ruling party limited itself to issuing a ridiculous anthological communique. The presidency, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], and the government stepped back. We could say that, in this way, the Romanian public's impression that the PRM leader makes even Ion Iliescu tremble with fear received confirmation. In this situation, the fear of C.V. Tudor by some heads of legal institutions in Romania reached colossal proportions. How could a prosecutor dare charge him with calumny, when the head of state himself proved that he did not know how to save himself when the PRM leader started slapping his face? Certainly, at the latest news conference, C.V. Tudor became more mellow. But this is only a strategic pause. The show of force has been made. And proceeding from its extraordinary effectiveness, the PRM leader will be even more convinced that nobody and nothing can stay in his path. Therefore, after a brief respite, Ion Iliescu will be again taken by his neck and stuck with his nose in the dirt.

Court Rules Iron Guard Movement 'Not Fascist'

AU1310100495 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 5 Oct 95 p 12

[Article by Cristian Muntean: "A Romanian Court Ruled That the Iron Guardist Movement Had Not Been Fascist"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Through Ruling No. 745 passed in its meeting on 12 July 1995, the Suceava Appeal Court is the first Romania legal body which ruled that the Iron Guardist Movement was not fascist. One of the people involved in the case, Rahila Gudinov (90 years old) from Gura Humorului, who was arrested

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in 1945 and sent to the Caracal prison camp, asked the commission in charge with the implementation of Law No. 118/1990 to pay damages to the people who suffered from the communist repression. The respective commission turned down her request claiming that Rahila Dudinov had belonged to the Iron Guardist Movement. To this end, it invoked Article 11 of Decree 118, according to which these rights cannot be granted to people who belonged to fascist political organizations.

After the sentence passed by the Suceava Court, which upheld the commission's position, Rahila Gudinov appealed to the Suceava Appeal Court, which considered the appeal as justified. The court panel, led by President Mircea Hancu, overruled the sentence passed by the Suceava Court and passed an irrevocable decision, which reads, among other things that "it has not been proven that the complainant has carried out a fascist-type activity; the fact that she had belonged to the Iron Guardist Movement is no proof along these lines."

It is worth mentioning that, in making this decision, the Suceava Appeals Court studied the documents presented at the famous Nuremberg trial, which excluded the Iron Guardist Movement from the fascist organizations.

Sibiu Officers Displeased by Army Restructuring

AU1310101195 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Oct 95 p 1

[Article by A. Novac: "Discontent Among Sibiu Officers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An unusual state of tension has spread among the officers of the Sibiu garrison due to the envisaged restructuring of the units of the Ministry of National Defense. A source who wanted to remain anonymous told us that the main soure of discontent is linked to the uncertain future of the military cadres. According to the plans of the Ministry of National Defense leadership, each garrison should be specialized in one type of armament. Sibiu, which is the country's second-largest garrison, will have to part with a number of specialized units; it will also host the Academy for Land Troops. Until now, a lot of communications, artillery, chemical, geodesy, and other schools were operating in this Transylvanian city. Each of these different arms will have their headquarters in a different city and garrison, something which is creating complications for the Sibiu officers. They will have to go to the cities where the units were allocated or they will have to give up their military career and take up jobs in a field they have skills for, since many of them are graduates from civilian state faculties, such as law, letters, history, economy, and so forth.

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Federal

News Agencies Discuss Promoting Cooperation

LD1210174695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 12 (TANJUG)—Director-general of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG and director-general of the Bulgarian news agency BTA Milen Valkov met here on Thursday for talks on promoting ties between the two leading Balkan news agencies.

Valkov and his deputy Atanas Matev arrived in Belgrade on a two-day working visit to TANJUG on Thursday.

The BTA will soons start restoring its foreign correspondents' network, and the agency's first foreign bureau will be opened in Belgrade in November, said Valkov.

Serbia

Minister Receives Iranian Charge d'Affaires

LD1210180295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 12 (TANJUG)—Serbian Deputy Prime Minister and Science and Technology Minister Slobodan Unkovic on Thursday received the Iranian charge d'affaires in Belgrade, Seyyed Ahmad Hedayat.

During the meeting, which took place at Hedayat's request, the two sides exchanged views on yugoslav and iranian development issues and possibilities for promoting bilateral cooperation in all areas, especially science, culture and education, Unkovic's office said.

Hedayat hailed the role of the Yugoslav and Serbian leaderships in restoring peace in the former Yugoslavia and said Iran was prepared to support the implementation of the peace process, the office of the Serbian deputy prime minister said in a statement.

Ministers, Union Leaders View Production, Prices

AU0710173395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 95

[Report by Miroslav Pisarevic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The representatives of top organs and bodies of trade union organizations from 27 different branches of the economy in our republic today discussed the implementation of the agreement reached by the government, the Chamber of Economy, and Confederation of Trade Unions of Serbia on maintaining prices and the standard of living, and increasing production. The meeting was also attended by Slobodan Radulovic, deputy prime minister of the republican government, and Miomir Pavicevic, vice president of the Economic Chamber. Ministers Dusan Vlatkovic, Srdjan Nikolic, and Oskar Fodor also took part in the discussion. Here is a report by Miroslav Pisarevic:

[Pisarevic] In his introductory speech, Tomislav Banovic, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Serbia, said that the agreement reached by social partners is not being realized. Prices went up 8 percent in August and 10 percent in September. There has been a negligible rise in production, while real wages, despite increases, are still falling owing to the increase in the cost of living.

Miomir Pavicevic, vice president of the Economic Chamber, said that further efforts must be made to implement the agreement and denied the trade unions' figures on the drop in salaries. He stressed that salaries rose by 71 percent in the past 12 months and that they will rise only in line with increases in production.

Finance Minister Dusan Vlatkovic stressed that the budget production was reduced by 12 percent this year and that sales tax has been halved. He said that he expected production to rise at the rate of 4.2 percent by the end of year, and the gross national product at the rate of 4.5 percent.

Industry Minister Oskar Fodor stressed that salaries were not the reason for inflation and that the budget is financed from real sources. He also said that the National Bank of Yugoslavia, in applying a restrictive policy, should control more the work of commercial banks. [passage omitted]

Seselj: Muslims, Croats Preparing New Attacks

LD1210164295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 12 Oct (SRNA)—Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, stated today that the Croats and Muslims are already exploiting the cease-fire in order to prepare for continued aggression against the Bosnian Serb Republic.

"This is demonstrated by the concentration of new forces of theirs on the western fronts of the Serb Republic," Seselj stated at a news conference, and added that special units of the NATO pact have also been taking part in the fighting.

According to him, the territorial losses of the Serb army are a direct consequence of official Belgrade policy, which is using its own people to spread lies, trouble and a sense of resignation.

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Commenting on yesterday's approved NATO draft plan for the dispatch of troops to the Bosnia-Herzegovina, Seselj warned that "it is a great misconception to believe that NATO would withdraw after one year, because, this is only one phase in the persecution of the Serbs."

"The United States does not intend to withdraw after the presidential elections in November next year, as is envisaged in these draft plans, because it wants to completely eliminate the Serbs from the the Bosnia," Seselj concluded.

Commentary Views Prospects for Eastern Slavonia

AU1310104795 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 95 p 13

[Commentary by Miroslav Lazanski: "Forcing the Danube"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Erdut agreement marked the beginning of the final return of the Srijem and Baranja regions to the "constitutional system of the Republic of Croatia in a peaceful way." No matter how the Serb side later explains what happened in Erdut, it is a fact that Croatia will be opening its post offices, banks, and offices for pensions, passports, and citizenship in that area. All this means that the dream about the Republic of Serbian Krajina has reached its end. That story is now over.

Croatia will guarantee the Serb population in the Srijem and Baranja regions "all human rights, with the possibility of local administration for those who live there, but without any kind of Serb autonomy or referendum." Everything is clear.

It only remains to be seen whether the agreement will be implemented or the whole thing will escalate into a Croatian military intervention. The warnings from Washington and the presence of the Yugoslav Army on the borders have so far stopped Zagreb from starting a military operation for its eastern regions and the Erdut agreement and the foreseen demilitarization of the region will enable Croatia to get this area probably without a major battle. But Zagreb is leaving nothing to chance, as is indicated by reports on Croatian preparations for the possible military option.

Downed MiG Aircraft

Croatia has made preparations for a military operation. Zagreb has brought 15 brigades in a first, and eight in a second military convoy, which is 45,000 soldiers all together. The concentration of military hardware consists of 200 tanks, 150 armored personnel carriers, 350 artillery weapons, and 28 multiple rocket launchers. The most important units of the first Croatian military convoy are professional brigades, the majority of which Croatia is keeping behind the Vinkovci-Zupanja line, since it is afraid of a possible Yugoslav Army counterattack in the direction of the Spacvanske woods.

At the same time, Croatia has also prepared several sabotage units, consisting of commandos and "frogmen." Using the Danube, they would try to destroy the bridges near Bogojevo, Batina, and Backa Palanka. Although the Hungarian Army has increased its presence in the border zone toward the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" and Yugoslavia, it cannot be ruled out that a strike by the Croatian Army on Baranja could also spread across that territory. This happened in 1992, so this option is also possible, in spite of good relations between Belgrade and Budapest.

The Croatian attack on the "eastern front" would begin with synchronized actions of commandos and artillery, with attacks by engineering units, which would try to neutralize the minefields and routes for tanks.

Croatia has already established a strong bridgehead on the Drava River close to Osijek that directly affects Darda and new bridges have already been brought close to the Drava River. An attack by the Croatian Army would start with the disruption of communications, as well as the command and the control of the 11th Yugoslav Army Corps and propaganda and psychological warfare carried out by Croatian special forces and aimed at the political and military structures of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina."

The Croatian Air Force will probably participate in the operation too, but its role will be considerably restricted compared with the one it played in the Knin operation. The "eastern front" is relatively far from Croatia's airports, so the military bases of Pleso and Varazdin cannot provide a good combat radius for Croatia's MiG's. In the "war without a battle" in Krajina, the Croatian Air Force did not distinguish itself, losing four MiG-21's. Two were shot down by ground-launched missiles, one was lost in a dogfight with a Serbian "Orao," and one flew into a hill trying to come up behind an "Orao," since the "Orao" has better maneuvering abilities than the MiG-21. The 10-percent loss that the Croatian Air Force suffered in the war for Knin is catastrophic by to Western criteria (anything over 2 percent in aircraft losses is considered relatively disastrous for NATO). In other words, in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem, Croatia cannot count on any major activity by its air force.

If Zagreb decides to start a military operation, its tanks in eastern Slavonia may be exposed to flank fire from Yugoslav Army tanks. It could of course happen, as it always could in such a scenario, that a shell

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falls on Yugoslav territory, too, either deliberately or accidentally. In such a case the Yugoslav Army would certainly respond to this fire, again either deliberately or accidentally. It is difficult to predict whether all this would end only in an exchange of artillery fire but it would be even more difficult to get it under control. Regardless of all this, Croatia has the military power to defeat the 11th Corps of the Republic of Serbian Krajina army, provided that it is not supported by Yugoslavia.

Both Danube Banks

How would Yugoslavia behave in the event of a Croatian attack on the "eastern front"? Are the Srijem and Baranja regions of vital importance for Belgrade, as Bihac is for Zagreb? Has Yugoslavia defined its national interests in the region? Has anybody thought about what it would mean for the Croatian Army to reach the border drawn after the World War II in the Danube region, where it includes both Danube banks, from Batina to Apatin, as well as three smaller "pockets" further south, one of which is not far away from Backa Palanka?

The arrival of the Croatian Army at the banks of the Danube would mean that the School Center of the Yugoslav Army Air Force and Air Defense would have to move out of Sombor immediately. It would also mean that the "Karadjordjevo" complex would be within range of the Croatian Army.

In that case Croatia could also target the Batajnica military airport with tactical missiles. The command centers of the Yugoslav Army on Mt. Fruska would in that case be on the front line. With the fall of the remaining part of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" on the "eastern front," the military balance and the security architecture in the territory of former Yugoslavia and the Balkans would change radically: from Serb guns and missiles 27 km from the center of Zagreb yesterday to Croatian guns and missiles 70 km from Batajnica Airport tomorrow. Apart from that, a new exodus of 130,000 refugees would start leaving the region.

JUL Said Seeking To Take Power in Sandzak

AU1210171995 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 95 pp 16-17

[Article by Mirko Popovac: "JUL Intends To Take Over Local Rule in Novi Pazar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Yugoslav United Left [JUL], supported by a certain number of socialists and with the benevolence of Belgrade, tried to carry out a coup in Novi Pazar last summer with the aim of taking over local rule from the socialists and filling key positions in the local authorities with its members, mainly from the JUL Communal Committee.

"They are trying to win over the Muslims by telling them stories that they would 'cleanse' the municipal office, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Socialist Party," Kasim Zoranic, chairman of the Sandzak Liberal Muslim Organization, told us, citing information obtained from a JUL activist.

Much can be learned from other sources too, including the names of the people who should be removed from their political positions as well as the names of those who would replace them. In JUL's view, Konstantin Jovanovic, the Communal Assembly chairman, Miladin Belojica, the chairman of the local socialists, and Dragoslav Mijaljevic, the manager of the radio station, should be among the first to go. They would be soon followed by Mirko Rakonjac, head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to TELEGRAF sources, they would take with them a wave of incompetent assistants, who would, in turn, be followed by managers appointed by the Communal Assembly.

According to the JUL plan, the position of the mayor would be taken by Salih Pristavac-Tace, the man who used to be the chairman of the Communal Assembly in the former Yugoslavia as well as the chairman of the League of Communists Committee, and the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Aleksandar Djokic would be a reserve; he is also a former Communal Assembly chairman. He used to be the main representative of the Novi Pazar Serbs in the capital, just in case it is considered that it would be better to appoint a Serb to that position. According to well-informed sources, the position of the radio station manager is foreseen for Ferid Hamidovic, a political scientist who used to work as a reporter at this station and who was an associate to the League of Communists Communal Committee. Apart from that, he is a former youth activist and a SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] member. Today, Hamidovic is the chairman of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia County Committee in Novi Pazar; he is a member of the JUL Main and Communal Committees. Rakonjac, the first man of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, would be replaced by Aljo Besirovic, who left that position several years ago.

Our sources claim that the JUL also promised to "clear up" the situation in the SPS. The position of the chairman of that party would be taken by Milenko Kovacevic, who is currently a member of the SPS Communal Committee and chairman of the Radio Novi Pazar Board of Directors. Zuhra Mendzic, the chairman of the JUL Communal Committee, would be in charge of the cultural center and wait for a position above the communal level.

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These are some of the planned personnel changes. Nikola Curcic, head of the Security Institute of Belgrade, who comes from Novi Pazar, would play an important role in all this. He rented his house in Novi Pazar to Dafina [the owner of a private bank that had financial difficulties], but unfortunately after she had already passed the zenith. Natasa Curcic of the Ministry of Information should get an important role. She deserves it since she has forced the local authority to change the local radio's editorial policy.

The plan also foresees awards for "loyal" socialists. It is claimed that Vucko Jekic, a member of the SPS Communal Committee, whose son is one of the local JUL leaders, is one of them. JUL has its own people—some of whom are members of the party Communal Committee—in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the courts, and municipal authorities. They provide fresh information.

The plan has not borne fruit so far. This does not mean, however, that it has been given up. JUL has started a great offensive in Novi Pazar, blaming almost all parties, including the local authority, of nationalism, warmongering, reactionary tendencies, and destroying the joint life. The campaign was directed at The Party of Democratic Action, Serbian Radial Party, Serbian Renewal Movement, Socialist Party...."The JUL Communal Committee has gathered old politicians during whose rule—as long as they were talking about brotherhood and unity [of all Yugoslav nations]—tens of thousands of Serbs moved out of Novi Pazar," Radenko Jokovic, chairman of the Serbian Congressional Party in Novi Pazar, told us.

"JUL is a deceit for us Muslims," Kasim Zoranic, leader of the Liberal Bosniak Organization, commented on JUL's appearance. Branislav Ivanovic, chairman of the Raska [Sandzak] County Committee of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], called JUL a reactionary force and accused the media of offering time to "political forces that won only 1.5 percent of the votes in Serbia." The SDA [Party of Democaratic Action] does not have a better opinion, but it is assessed that the attitude of the Communal Assembly has mostly harmed JUL. There are many Serbs in the Communal Assembly, since Muslim parties did not participate in the election. The socialists have a majority, but the radicals and the DEPOS [Democaratic Movement of Serbia] can always block the work of the Assembly, since it is difficult to achieve a quorum without them.

Problems have arisen in the SPS too. After several telephone calls from Belgrade, Miladin Belojica submitted his resignation as party chairman, but Milenko Kovacevic refused to become the chairman of the local socialists. Neither was the other candidate—it is claimed it was Jekic, manager of a textile factory—ready to take over the function. Hazbo Medovic became acting chairman. All these changes have been made within the highest SPS circle.

"I cannot understand that the resignation and election of the acting chairman could be carried out without the Communal Committee being informed about it," Vladeta Milic, a member of that body, said.

Kovacevic did a nice thing for JUL. As chairman of the Novi Pazar radio station Board of Directors, he suggested to the manager that it broadcast an eight-minute JUL address in which the station was accused of supporting rightist forces and of warmongering. The participation in Seselj's, Kostunica's, Djindjic's, Krajisnik's, Visnjic's, Kilibarda's, and Trajkovic's programs, as well as the attempt to get an interview from Ugljanin were mentioned too. The local government and local socialists were also attacked in the program. A mild answer came from Ramiz Eternovic, the radio editor. His statement lasted for only a minute or two, and it was not mentioned at all that Radio Novi Pazar had also broadcast interviews with approximately 10 ministers and several socialists from the republic's leadership. Broadcast time was given to the leftist movement too—from Mira Markovic and Draskovic to Krsmanovic, and local activists. Still, JUL collected the first points. The local socialists's top man was forced to resign, and the station's programs, regardless of the former editorial policy, no longer included presentations of Serbian parties and associations. Mijaljevic, the manager, and Eternovic, the editor, were reprimanded by the chairman of the Board of Directors and by the chairman of the Communal Assembly, with the consequence that the SPO County Committee chairman was not invited to participate in a radio program. The reports from a SPO meeting as well as from a SRS [Serbian Radical Party] news conference were stopped. The "Stara Serbia" [Old Serbia] Association was not even able to inform the people where the help for the Krajina refugees was collected. Songs from the Muslim and Croatian part of Bosnia returned to the station's music repertoire—those sung by Islamovic, Salkovic, Puzic, Dino "Merlin," Tepic.

Konstantin Jovanovic, the chairman of the Communal Assembly, had to go to Belgrade frequently in order to take "his makeup examinations," to show that he supported brotherhood and unity. A new deputy chairman of the Communal Assembly was elected instantly—a Muslim—and since there was no quorum, the chairman himself used his own car to collect a committee member from his meadow. It is not known who threatened the chairman, but it is known that he offered an alternative to the committee members if they did not vote for the

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deputy chairman: "Respect my resignation, or it will be the beginning of the dissolution of the Assembly."

Muslim refugees from Bosnia should have left the Center for Social Work in Novi Pazar and been accommodated at a hotel in Pazariste, outside the town, where their countrymen were accommodated two years ago. The decision was stopped, since the Muslims refused to go out of town and since they had already found jobs with small private companies. They have remained in the center. The list of companies that were ready to employ single Krajina refugees has been removed; the companies were told that the employment could wait.

The Novi Pazar municipality has also given up the idea of employing an assistant to the Cultural Center manager. This position had been offered to Radoslav Mihailovic, an art historian. The decision was stopped immediately, before a session of the Assembly, because a written warning came from JUL that a Radical Party supporter was not allowed to be employed. And he was not employed. Today, there is neither manager nor deputy manager at the Cultural Center. All this was preceded by statements issued by JUL activists in which the present municipal authorities were accused of appointing too small a number of Muslims to official positions in the local authorities. Hamidovic mentioned ethnic cleansing in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, from which Muslims were thrown out, as he put it, but he also spoke about the terror carried out against Muslims, the maltreatment of them, and displacement.

Hamidovic says that his party has much to reproach the local authorities for, and that they will use every opportunity and place to point this out. The current municipal authority in Novi Pazar did not want to appoint Hamidovic chairman of the executive committee in spite of intervention by the SK-PJ leadership, where Hamidovic worked as the Republic Committee secretary. They did him a favor—he was given a two-room apartment in Belgrade and a job with the Textbook Publishing Institute.

If it succeeds in "clearing up" the Ministry of Internal Affairs, JUL is counting on the votes of those who have felt the work of the police close to their own skin. During the last several years the Ministry of Internal Affairs has seized about 3,000 weapons, from pistols to artillery guns, mostly from those who would—according to the plans of Ugljanin's Party of Democratic Action—be members of paramilitary formations in the event of war. The members and leaders of the local committees who were in charge of the supplies, armament, and organization of such units, have been arrested too. Twenty-four of Ugljanin's close assistants have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

JUL wants Mr. Besirovic as head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; he was the last chairman of the League of Communists Communal Committee. Help from Nikola Curcic is counted on; he was seen here during the JUL presentation, accompanied by Mira Markovic, head of the JUL Head Office. Sreto Veselinovic, a policeman and secretary of the JUL Communal Committee, should be promoted in the hierarchy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He was in charge of signing the report against the radio station. SPS sources claim, however, that the socialist Jekic could be expected as the Ministry of Internal Affairs head. He is expected to be appointed in the official way, whereas Rakonjac would be awarded a good position in either Kragujevac or Belgrade. Rakonjac's departure is interpreted as showing the authorities' intention to remove all those who played a role during the time of the excitable slogan: "All Serbs in one state."

Reports that Belgrade would like to see JUL as the ruling party in Novi Pazar have also come from the SPS, the purpose being not only to remove Sulejman Ugljanin and his supporters but also to use that local leadership to alleviate tensions and realize links with "healthy left forces" in Kosovo, which have survived there since the communist period. When they were leading politicians in Novi Pazar (before the Eighth Session of the League of Communists in the former Yugoslavia) several people from the present JUL Communal Committee leadership secretly met with Kosovo leaders on various occasions, among others with Azem Vlasi. The meetings usually took place in Rozaje.

That JUL's campaign for the local leadership is also supported by certain SPS circles has been confirmed by Gorica Gajevic, a deputy to the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia and chairman of the SPS County Committee of Kraljevo, an activist with a big influence on the personnel decisions in this part of Serbia, especially regarding judicial institutions.

"The SPS has an excellent program, and it is a different matter that is interpreted and carried out in a bad way here," Gorica Gajevic said at the JUL presentation in Novi Pazar, which she attended together with Mira Markovic.

"It is our strategic decision to strengthen JUL," was the official answer from the SPS Communal Committee, after this had also been stated by Miroslav Markovic, a member of the Main Committee in charge of SPS work in this part of Serbia. Will JUL succeed in imposing itself on the Muslims as the promised party?

"Thank you. Mrs. Mumdzic should represent someone else. She spent several years at the Council of Citizens at the Federal Assembly and she did not utter a word. She received a huge salary for doing nothing. Why did it

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not save Yugoslavia then?," her former party comrade, a Muslim, asks.

Fall of Television Director Vucelic Analyzed

95BA0374A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 95 pp 17-18

[Article by Petar Ignja: "Vucelic's Dialectics"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The grumbling over the unprecedented journalism of state-controlled television has gone on for three years now, and sticks and stones have been thrown at Milorad Vucelic, general director of the "fabrication factory." Then, when he was removed, silence ensued except for a few trivial news reports and occasional pieces recalling all his changes (political and moral). It is hard to believe; even angry opposition has not spoken out on this occasion, not even with an ordinary press release. Was Vucelic's removal really so unimportant? Was he not said to be Serbia's second man and the probable heir to the first one?

A few words, first, about the very act of "dismissal from office," which was carried out in the government of Serbia, according to the well-known formula which has been in effect in this country for half a century. At the end of the meeting, Ratomir Vico proposed that Comrade Vucelic go to a "new post"; he did not take great pains to argue the point. The minister of culture merely "seconded," and they "sang" that song of songs (Since Comrade Vucelic could not honor the suggestions of the head of state, there is nothing further to discuss.). And there was no discussion. Only at the end of this ballad did Mirko Marjanovic, prime minister, pay recognition to Comrade Milorad for his work to date (a small token of attention out of love on both sides for black and white).

From well-informed circles...Well, that is mere rhetoric. Firsthand, from a friend, I learned that the decision regarding Milorad Vucelic's departure from the post of general director of state-run television and from the office of chairman of the incumbent party's parliamentary caucus was made back in August of last year. The main thing behind it was his intimate association (which, true gentleman that he is, he did not conceal) with a well-known nightclub singer (our patriarchal president could not swallow that); and then there were his revels, dancing on the table, all kinds of cockiness and nonchalance, like in Kusta's film. Well even that is human, one would say, but only when the principal pays the costs out of his own pocket. How much did all of that cost, and who had to come up with the money, I ask you, our Orthodox Mother of God? Our people (I believe) still recall all those turbojet spot ads with our singer doing folk music (she was well-known back in Stambolic's time), which were an integral part of the main evening news program on state television. How our rabid soccer fans used to curse her during the soccer championships, because they spent more time looking at her two spheres dancing on the screen than the one used in the game. And again the question: Who had to pay for all that? Fine, we know, it was paid for by the hero of our time, and the figure of 480 million marks is mentioned.

The well-informed will also add to this two wrecked cars owned by the ministry which sees that our people sleep through the night. And they do not cross the border before paying their tax bill. The reader will rightly pose the question: How is the man able to obtain those cars? That is no secret, because Vucelic said publicly that two of the three main men in that ministry were great friends of his (none of them was Sokolovic).

All of this (pardon me, not all) can be attributed both to the grapevine and to the nightingale (terrible, you know...), and probably the Socialists would not have renounced their important man solely for that, if there had not been something else. And it seems that there was.

Let us ask ourselves, then, when and how the ascent to heaven of Milorad Vucelic began? Well, when Radoman Bozovic arrived in Novi Sad from Subotica to become provincial prime minister. So now, how and why the little committee member from Subotica, whose name was never heard even in the fight against the autonomists, became first provincial prime minister, and soon even prime minister of the Serbian Government, is known only to Slobodan Milosevic and even that is not our topic today. The truth is only that Bozovic, when he came to Novi Sad, replaced all the enterprise directors and editors in chief in Vojvodina with all of his friends from high school in Titov Vrbas (where he himself had been a student), and he set up the most famous among them—Milorad—as director of Novi Sad television. Did their friendship in high school in Titov Vrbas play the main role here? No. These were no longer children. But there are famous politics in that part of Backa which is pursued by rural Montenegrins settled there after the war. The politics conducted by rural Montenegrins settled there after the war are the worst possible politics on the soil of Vojvodina, said Petar Petrovic. The essence of it is power, and power alone. Everything in that region that was tradition, peasant tradition, Vojvodina tradition, but also city tradition, was pushed into the background, so that level Backa would one day become hilly and stony. Broz really liked that. And in his honor the town bore his name.

Radoman and Milorad grew up in that atmosphere and learned to be politicians. They became Marxists. When

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the ethnic principle overwhelmed the class principle, that was not alien to Vucelic either. He became a nationalist. When it was said that nationalism had had its day and that there was no alternative to peace (Dacic, Percevic), Vucelic once again was a dialectician. In the meantime, he took great pains to court Milosevic. But it was too late. He had committed one sin too many, and Mira had never liked him. Sloba? Hm. On that point, no one can be smart. In times long since, when the summers in Belgrade did not have as many mosquitoes as now, the author of these lines talked to Slobodan Milosevic (in a relaxed way), and at the mention of Vucelic's name, Mr. President said: "Don't talk to me about Vucelic...everything he says or writes stinks." Which means, that at that time he did not like him. But later?

The journalist's job is to show, not to prove. In that sense, there is more to the story. What can never be taken away from Vucelic is his feel for making connections, for using those connections in the production of goods needed for life, and he certainly has talent as a writer. Of all the managers of our television studios today, only Vucelic and Tijanic have been journalists! As for the rest, God help us. But Vucelic loved not only journalism, but also power. When Bozidar Vucurevic, player of the gusle, poet, resident of Trebinje, was forming his government, he took Vucelic to be information minister. Perhaps this may seem a bit obscure, a bit petty, and even comical, but for those who have studied the nature of power, and Vucelic certainly is no amateur, the main thing has been: getting started.

Now comes an interesting combination. There is no doubt whatsoever that Slobodan Milosevic knew how much "stronger" Milorad Vucelic was than all those incompetents who have surrounded him for years. He also knew that his ties to Karadzic, Vucurevic, Mile, and Momir were excellent, and it is natural that he should have needed such a man for communication. At that time, Cosic was the grateful president of Yugoslavia, the ethnic trumpets were trumpeting away, and Dobrica was Vucelic's spiritual father. It is said that in the writer's house they never even served the soup until Milorad arrived. Who actually gave the push to Vucelic to become the head of state television? Cosic and Bozovic above all. Milosevic had nothing against it. Milosevic, he said, was someone he needed. And this was evident on television: Whenever it was time to go to Athens or Geneva and places like that, Vucelic was himself breathing down his neck. Milorad had worn blue jeans all his life. Then he began wearing sharkskin. Recently, it has been noted that even Sloba has begun to dress splendidly.

In the Serbian Assembly, Baki had no chance against the clever opposition. The throw of the dice was in Vucelic's favor to head the caucus, because he was the only one, literally the only one, who could debate in that sea of socialist mediocrity. Right up until the moment when Toma Nikolic mentioned to him the stammering and humping of nightclub singers past their prime. At that time, a new Slobodan, in any case a different Milosevic, stepped onto our political stage. There was a major change of direction in his policy both toward the West and toward the trans-Drina Serbs. Our head of state saw quite tardily that nothing was going to come of playing the hero and hissing at saints. He has perhaps been forced to change direction, but even that is better than losing heads in vain. And Milosevic also sees something else (I think). He clearly sees what his state has been reduced to. No one who is honest can make ends meet here anymore, but those who until yesterday were penniless, those who cannot talk and have nothing in their heads, do not know what to do with all the money. Criminally obtained, of course. The Mafia has its laws: The first one is to amass wealth, and then power. (Why pay a tax to the state when they can run it?) The showdown with the Mafia, then, had to begin at the top, and many were and still are the president's men.

There is not a minister in Bozovic's government who did not get rich and become a businessman. You do not make a state with such people. If Sloba did not understand all that in time, Mira did.

People are there today who were very close to Milosevic, but now "no longer are"? Quite a few. And today, as natural allies or as future partners of the patriotic segment of the opposition, they feel called upon to tell off their former boss. They will gather together once again as a flock of nationalistic heroes and will proclaim Milosevic to be a traitor who did not defend Krajina. They will not talk about what they did not defend.

Milorad Vucelic's fall, then, was inevitable. As a strong man in the government, he managed both to be in the government and to get close to the police (a third of whom are trans-Drina Serbs), and also to have good ties with those who got rich in two days. For that matter, he himself started a business somewhere in Switzerland, nightingale says.

With ties like that and a program like that, Vucelic certainly cannot be written off. One can even pose the question: Does Milosevic have a chance of holding on if they rush him? Everything depends upon who makes the first move. The only thing that is certain is that two putsches are hovering in the air: One would be carried out by Milosevic himself against his former people and

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party heads, and if he is too late, his destiny would come into their hands. Civil war such as has never been waged here would be our destiny.

Montenegro

President Sees Capital Projects as Priority

LD1210175895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic today received Ivan Busniak, the newly appointed charge d'affaires in the Czech Republic Embassy in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

It has been announced that they discussed current political questions and the scope for cooperation between the two countries in the economic sphere.

President Bulatovic stressed that the final resolution of the war phase of the Yugoslav crisis could be realized in the next few weeks. In this context, he stressed, the main preoccupation of Montenegro and the FRY is successful preparation for the realization of development policy, especially capital projects that were blocked by the international community's sanctions.

"With the establishment of peace and the lifting of sanctions we will be entering a more favorable but complex phase, which implies more rapid recovery and purposeful activation of all resources in order to improve the quality of the life of our citizens. Such a development policy requires complete openness, intensive communication and cooperation with other countries, including the Czech Republic, which could be an important partner," Bulatovic said.

Djukanovic Comments on Federation, Equality

AU1310122795 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 95

[Report on speech by Montenegran Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic at a session of the Democratic Party of Socialists in Bijelo Polje on 3 October, by M. Drobnjak: "Djukanovic: 'We Wish To Be Equal in the Federation'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijelo Polje, 3 October—"War has never been so close to Montenegro's door, yet we have managed to maintain peace. Throughout its history Montenegro has always been on the verge between war and peace, and this time, through diplomatic and political activity, it has managed to avoid war, and spare itself the human victims and material damage. We have succeeded in doing that, although it was not easy to resist the leaders of warmongering parties and their daily calls to war."

This, among other things, was what was said last night by Milo Djukanovic, prime minister of Montenegro and vice president of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS], speaking at a session of the party's Youth Association in Bijelo Polje. He also said that in the last three or four years Montengro had realized what its chances and possibilities for development were, and, for the first time in its history, it had managed to finance its own state institutions, which has been the best contribution to the building and strengthening of the federation.

"This self-financing is not a flash in the pan, and it will continue. In some places, however, this is often interpreted as the closing of Montenegro, as some sort of secessionism. That is not true. Montenegro has only become aware of its possibilities and potential, and it believes that in this way it helps Yugoslavia best. After all, we wish to live in equality and dignity in the federation, and we cannot do that if we are being sustained by others," Djukanovic said.

The Montenegro prime minister further said that Yugoslavia was the choice of Montenegro. "True, Yugoslavia is not being realized with the expected dynamics at the moment," Djukanovic said, and expressed his hope that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would soon become an effective federal state.

Democratic Party Chairman Moves to People's Party

LD1210182895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Dr. Slobodan Vujosevic, chairman of the Democratic Party [DS] of Montenegro, has announced that he has joined the People's Party [NS] of Montenegro [both are opposition parties].

At a news conference he said several municipal organizations of the DS membership had also gone over to the People's Party.

Vujosevic explained his switching parties by saying that the NS advocates a joint state of Serbia and Montenegro and the well-being of the Serbian nation. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Rugova on 'Serbian-Macedonian Front' Speculation

AU1110140195 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 7 Oct 95 pp 1-3

[Report by B. Haliti on news conference by Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, in Prishtina

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on 6 October: "Including Kosova in EU Reconstruction Aid"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, began yesterday's regular news conference by asking from the EU that aid for economic development or revival or the reconstruction of Bosnia should also directly include Kosova, as one of the successor states to the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

President Rugova went on to answer journalists' questions.

"One of the most important events recently has been the assassination attempt on Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov. However, this has relegated another event into the shadows, Gligorov's meeting with Milosevic. The Serbian press asserts that at that meeting they discussed what was called opening a common Serbian-Macedonian front against what were called Albanian secessionists in Macedonia and Kosova. How would you comment on all this?" asked the Macedonian Radio-Television correspondent.

"The assassination attempt on President Gligorov was a tragic incident," President Rugova said, "and we have expressed our wishes for President Gligorov's fast recovery and our desire not to see Macedonia destabilized. As you know, we have had repeated contacts with Mr. Gligorov, and in this situation we have striven to preserve the best possible relations with Macedonia, as far as we are able on our side. The Albanians in Macedonia, and also the Albanians in general, are interested in the stability of Macedonia and have contributed directly to it. Any other speculation or accusation is intended to sling mud at the Albanians. I do not go into newspaper commentaries, but these are indeed malicious speculations, and I do not think that such fronts or coalitions can be created in the Balkans when everybody in the region will be asked to keep continual political and military control in the region."

Asked by the correspondent of the Croatian news agency HINA whether Kosova will be part of the peace conference that it has been announced will take place in Paris, President Rugova replied that the most important thing now is to stop the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and to begin, step by step, to solve all the problems in the former Yugoslavia. I say with total conviction, Dr. Rugova said, that Kosova too is part of the framework of the U.S. initiative and we await to see what form the announced peace conference in Paris will take, and how agreements in Washington will develop.

ATA's correspondent asked President Rugova to comment on Albania's commitment to the United Nations, and the presence of Albania and of the cause of Kosova there. Ibrahim Rugova said that we support Albania's political and diplomatic initiatives in all international institutions and now in the UN General Assembly too, where Albania has been elected deputy chairman. Albania has thus assumed a special role, having been very active during the last three years, and having now submitted the question of Kosova and other issues at a very important moment. As we know, President Berisha met Mr. Butrus-Ghali at the United Nations a short time ago. Mr. Butrus-Ghali promised that the issue of Kosova will be an ongoing concern of the United Nations, following the resolution on Kosova approved last year. President Rugova also expressed the desire for Albania to be a temporary member of the UN Security Council, which would be very important in this situation.

Prospects for Paris Peace Conference Viewed

AU1210194095 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 9 Oct 95 p 2

[Commentary by Nehat Islami: "The Fruits of Paris"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Holbrooke's weeks of shuttle diplomacy in the former Yugoslavia and the cease-fire agreement for Bosnia the day before yesterday have represented a preliminary stage before the continuation of talks in Washington and subsequently in Paris, and have resembled an ulcer which, as it grows, causes the patient great pain, although he will retain in his memory only the moment when it comes to a head and bursts, releasing his body from fever.

Holbrooke would not be called "The Kissinger of the Balkans" or "Mr. Balkans" if he did not have military force behind him, the will to win, and also an opportunity provided by the exhaustion of the former Yugoslavia after a bloody four-year war. Holbrooke only proves the thesis, familiar as long as men and weapons have existed, that every war has its predestined length, and that whoever chooses the most appropriate moment to intervene will be decked in laurels. The others are left with the burden of history, war crimes trials, and speculations in the press. This has happened after many wars during our century, when the fruits of war have been garnered by the superpowers, and naturally at Paris.

Algeria, Vietnam, Cambodia, and many states and liberation movements signed peace at Paris when conditions were ripe for them to lie down on the "operation table." This will also happen in the case of the former Yugoslavia, which, after 300,000 dead and as many wounded and many more having fled to other areas of the former Yugoslavia and abroad, will lie down for "surgery" in Paris, probably next month. Clinton's

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haste to be the first to announce the "good news" from the Balkans, but also NATO's readiness to perform any task to demonstrate to the Serbs that the time of playing with fire has come to an end, show that there is no sentimentalism in U.S. policy, but only an impatient march toward a necessary peace, if the tribe of the Serbs do not wish to be turned into extras in an American western movie.

However, as at the end of every story, when each protagonist turns back to his own business, now too, when light has begun to appear at the end of the tunnel of the former Yugoslavia, we are primarily interested in our own fate, now and at Paris.

If nobody has so far mentioned whether Kosova will be invited to the forthcoming conference in Paris to solve the bloody crisis in the former Yugoslavia, there are indications here and there in world capitals that the Americans and Europe, especially Germany, France, and Italy, will not allow outstanding problems to fester in the area of the former Yugoslavia. There are signs that Italy and Germany, together with France, are preparing a document that the Americans will also study, outlining a definitive solution to the problems of Kosova. All that has so far emerged in the press is that Washington, Europe, and the Islamic countries have decided to start solving the question of Kosova too at this conference in Paris. However, details have not yet been provided, apart from the formula of a few years ago that might be summarized as "extensive autonomy." This undefined term, without explanations of what international guarantees Washington and Europe will offer for it, will remain a blank sheet of paper, because the people of Kosova have decided to enjoy at all costs the equal rights belonging to all peoples in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

This sets many tasks before the Albanian people and their representatives, and especially Albania; they should exploit to the maximum the time before the Paris Conference to explain yet again why the Albanian people cannot accept any kind of autonomy within the framework of Serbia or Yugoslavia and that any half-baked solution will be a detonator for future, even more bloody crises.

UK Official: Kosovo Yugoslavia's Internal Affair

LD1110201795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 11 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Oct. 11 (TANJUG)—Secretary of state with the British Foreign Ministry Nicholas Bonsor said Wednesday [11 October] the problems of Kosovo were an internal affair of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which it should resolve by itself.

Bonsor met in Pristina Wednesday afternoon with representatives of ethnic Albanian political parties and Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet) authorities to discuss the situation and relations in this southern Yugoslav province.

After talks with Kosovo District Head and Serbian Minister Aleksa Jokic, Bonsor told reporters that the objective of his visit to Kosovo was to gain insight into the situation in that province.

A strong separatist movement has been active in Kosmet for decades, whose goal is the secession of this southern province from Serbia and Yugoslavia and its annexation to neighboring Albania.

Bonsor said his government was not planning to interfere in the resolving of this problem. He said these were problems of the Yugoslav government and that if it requested assistance in resolving them, Britain would be available.

Great Britain is also ready to help the development of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia once the sanctions are lifted, he said, and expressed hope that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina would end.

Minister Jokic said it was jointly assessed that the contribution of Yugoslavia and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in establishing peace in the Balkans had been crucial.

Jokic said the problems in Kosmet should be resolved within the well-known policy of national equality.

Members of the Albanian national minority are equal with all citizens of Serbia and they should also become engaged in resolving the problem of Kosovo, he said.

There cannot be any mention of any changes in the borders of Serbia or Yugoslavia and the international community and well-meaning countries should contribute by encouraging national minorities to rid themselves of those alternate leaderships which are pushing them into a confrontation with the state in which they live, Jokic said.

British Charge d'Affaires in Belgrade Ivor Roberts also took part in the talks.

Various 'Prognoses' to Albanian Issue Seen

AU1110140295 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 11 Oct p 2

[Commentary by Fehmi Ajvazi: "The Area of Political Nightmares"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt][Passage omitted]

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The Area of Political Nightmares

The oscillations of the Bosnian problem, since it has been ignited, has often caused Kosova to tremble. The parallelisms made to it, the political indication of the problem, comparisons, and the viewpoints have had their negative and positive effect. This means that, at home and abroad, the problem of Kosova has been continuously viewed as a problem related to the former Yugoslavia or to the Slavic peoples. Never was this problem treated as separate, as in fact it is, neither by internal nor external factor, in an effort to find a "golden political medium," not because of Albanians or because of Slavs (Serbs, Macedonians, Montenegrins), but because of the ethnic and historic truth, reality, and judicial justice. A hundred prognostic variants have been presented regarding the events and circumstances in the former Yugoslav area. None of them, however, states that Albanians are part of another nation that bears no connection at all with the former Yugoslav people. A thousand analyses, suppositions, ideas, and comparisons have been made in relation to the Albanian problem in Kosova. Yet, no one has ever ascertained in particular that Kosova is an occupied region, a geographical area that is being kept through violence, an ethnic entity that has been divided from the trunk by the cutting edge of the sword. There is no doubt that we, ourselves, are to blame as well. [passage omitted]

Do you think the time has come "to open the southern front," as has been demanded by the others, but not Albanians? In an effort to resolve the Bosnian problem, voices on changing the political course have been radicalized down in Kosova. And to give more form to the surprise, this is done at a time when Serbia has started to be relieved of the heavy burden of war in Bosnia and while the Bosnian problem and the Yugoslav crisis pretend to be resolved (this should be done according to the peace variant). Why is it then demanded that the situation be radicalized? [passage omitted]

Moments Requiring Vigilance

There is no doubt that the actuality of a politically stormy fall requires increased vigilance. Peace is being spoken of more than ever, and change in the political course has been predicted. In fact, there is still no concrete decision in resolving the problem of Kosova and its status. Apart from some demands that the Kosova issue be decorated with autonomy according to the 1974 Constitution, which even the children would have refused, nothing special that would close the paths to independence has been defined. That is why the future position of Kosova has neither been heightened nor degraded. [passage omitted]

It is necessary to currently face a nightmare coming from the reflections on the Bosnian actuality, at a time when there are chances that the debate on the problem of Kosova be opened at higher levels. However, someone is blowing the fire. Last December's CIA prognoses that the escalation of the situation in Kosova can be interrupted exactly at this time are very indicative of the situation that has started to reign in Kosova. However, we should trust the CIA, as it may have very accurate information at its disposal, even belonging to some years ago, on what will happen in any turbulent region in the world. For this reason, the CIA should be trusted for its prognosis on Kosova as well. Exactly according to its prognosis, the signs have started to appear on the horizon. We should be careful. Unfortunately, there are so many in the Balkans and Europe, who do not wish a solution to the Albanian problem of Kosova. However, it is to their interest that this problem be further prolonged according to the most anti-Albanian variant.

Vojvodina

Serb Refugee Resettlement in Vojvodina Reported

95CH0353A Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 25 Aug 95 p 21

[Article by Istvan Valihora from Subotica: "Serb Colonization of the Southern Region; Resettlement is Taking Place"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For the third time since Trianon, Delvidek ["Southern country"—southern Hungary until 1920, now northern Serbia and Croatia] is being colonized by the Serbs. (The term "colonization," whose meaning is clear cut, has been regarded in Yugoslavia at all times as an appropriate term to be used in general conversation, and has been understood to mean the settlement of Serb population in Vojvodina.) During the past two weeks 150,000 Serb refugees from the Krajina region arrived in Serbia, 75,000 of whom flooded Vojvodina, causing huge concerns to Little Yugoslavia already facing economic collapse. Warriors who escaped the Croatian army now terrorize the minorities in the host country. Using lists prepared in advance, local chetniks eagerly assist in occupying vacant—not only uninhabited—homes of the non-Serb nationality populace. The armed refugees drove out of their homes several hundred—primarily Croatian—families residing in Vojvodina. They are looking for furnished houses in good condition, and demand that land be provided with the buildings! The persons expelled from their homes were mainly Croatians dispersed in the Szeremseg (Srem region) and in villages closest to Croatia, and the refugees were not deterred from using physical force

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to enforce their will, including stabbings and murder. The refugees also took hold of the homes of Hungarians who work abroad or in the countryside; these incidents occurred in Apatin [Apatin], Szilagyi [Svilojevo], Szond [Sonta] and elsewhere. Police intervention amounted to setting deadlines for moving out; these deadlines accommodated the intruders. While Hungarians in Vojvodina await the dreadful moment when their turn to leave arrives, the expelled Croatians depart to their homeland via Hungary. Anxiety among Hungarians is increased by wartime preparations, and by thousands of military summonses being prepared or delivered.

The Serb Government encouraged the "conquerors" by instructing all district prefects to prepare lists of all abandoned residences with the help of mayors. Instructions were given by the central government as to the number of newcomers each district would have to accommodate. A refugee group of 2,500 has been assigned to settle in the mostly Hungarian-inhabited northern Bacska [Backa] district (the municipalities of Szabadka [Subotica], Topolya [Backa Topola], and Kishegyes [Mali Idos]) with a population of 220,000, but more than 3,000 refugees have already arrived in Szabadka, and 5,000 in the district. In a letter addressed to the Serb head of government, Szabadka Mayor Jozsef Kasza registered his objections to the conscription of residences in the strongest possible terms, and reminded the head of government that about 10,000 refugees had already been settled in Szabadka during the past four years (not including the newcomers). During the same period, a similar number of Hungarians and Croats were forced to escape; this, in turn, leads to a change in the ethnic composition of the area, a matter prohibited by international law. Leaders of the municipalities of Kanizsa [Kanjiza], Ada [Ada], Obecse [Stari Becej] and other Hungarian-inhabited villages, with local legislatures under Hungarian majority control, also try to divert the flood of refugees. Such action, however, raises the threat that the government invokes emergency powers and dissolves the local legislatures. In response to the protests, compliance with the aforementioned government decree did not become mandatory in the end, but in other municipalities the conscription of uninhabited real estate continues by circumventing local authorities; the prospect of distributing land classified as social property has also been raised. Meanwhile, almost no one wants to settle in Kosovo; Montenegro accepted barely more than a thousand refugees.

Protests registered by the VMDK [Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians—DZVM in Serbian] and the VMSZ [VMMSZ: Hungarian Cultural Association of Vojvodina] were disapproved even by the opposition parties, which renewed their attacks on Vojvodina Hungarian demands for autonomy.

Vojvodina Hungarians complain about the lack of a forceful stance that could be taken by Hungary; they believe that the Hungarian Government has reacted too late: the reaction came when Vojvodina Hungarians were already confronted with accomplished facts.

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